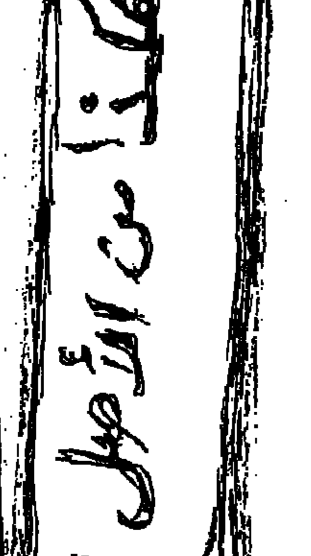
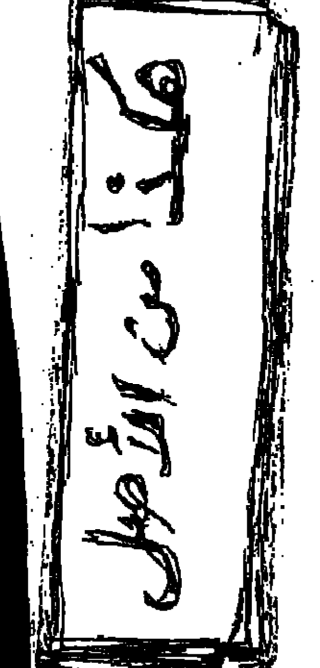
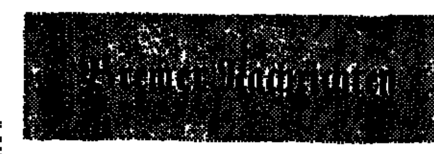




LEISURE

The sound of music comes back to rebuilt Hamburg factory



Die Fabrik (The Factory), a disused 19th century engineering works in Altona, Hamburg, is the home of a unique experiment in communication.

When it was launched eight years ago, it combined music and the arts with a kindergarten, pottery and screen printing classes, food and drink, a library, youth centre and all kinds of social work.

The old factory building was the size of a church, with a wooden gallery as an upper storey. Rough-hewn old railway sleepers were the mainstay of its decor.

It proved a uniquely successful experiment, privately launched but soon backed by public funds and trained social workers, until disaster struck.

On 11 February 1977 it burnt to the ground, probably as a result of arson. It was rebuilt and reopened on 28 September.

It was, the throngs of visitors there on reopening night agreed, as though time had stood still. Rock music, beer and cigarettes, crowds of happy people: it was just like old times.

Architect Volkwin Marg, a first-nighter who attracted little attention, was nonetheless largely responsible for ensuring that Altona, traditionally a working-class inner suburb of Hamburg, retained its attraction for lovers of the arts who do not think first and foremost in terms of dinner jackets and a night out at the opera.

While the burnt-out ruins of the old factory were still smouldering he and Horst Dietrich, co-founder of *Die Fabrik*, met to discuss rebuilding the sadly missed communications centre.

A century or so ago the original building had started out life as a Prussian ordnance factory and, as good luck would have it, it was still listed at the land registry office.

This meant that planning permission would only be given for rebuilding on the original foundations, and architect Marg really worked wonders.

"The design was bound to reflect our limited funds," he says, but the result is as unusual and distinctive as the Fabrik of old.

It has been completely rebuilt, but although everything about the new building is new, it was designed to look just as everyone remembered it before the blaze.

Woodwork, doors and windows were salvaged from old buildings demolished in the city centre. Minimum use was made of plaster and paint.

The result is a plain but reassuringly comfortable factory atmosphere, not the bright, new, sterile look that could so easily have robbed *Die Fabrik* of its individuality.

The hallmark of the new building is a crane over the entrance. It too was salvaged, from a neighbouring engineering works.

Two-and-a-half years after the old Fabrik had burnt to the ground, the new, old Fabrik reopened its doors for a three-day festival of rock and jazz music in the form of benefit concerts. The proceeds were to go towards young musicians and cultural work with young people. Rock star Udo Lindenberg, who is all in favour of the idea, could be seen on opening night chatting with Arts Senator Wolfgang Tranowski. Many Hamburg politicians are enthusiastic about the Fabrik's combination of social and youth work during the day and music and shows at night.

Die Fabrik cost DM3.6m to rebuild and re-equip. Much of the bill was paid by the local authorities.

The first group on the opening night's musical bill of fare was the Jazz Lips, and Gottfried Böttger, Udo Linden[berg], Eric Burdon, Bill Ramsey and m[any] others played on until the small h[ours] to an audience of more than 1,000.

Everyone walked round the splen[did] facilities and took a look at the Teestube, or tea room, the restaurant, the stage.

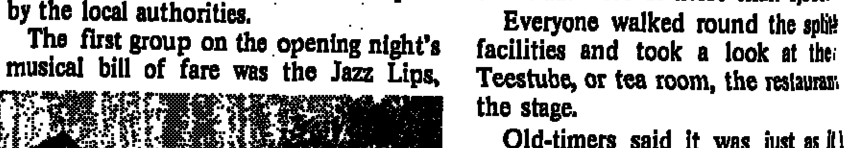
Old-timers said it was just as it'd been when, for instance, Mikis Theo[do]rakis had sung protest songs against Greek colonels and fellow-country[men] had echoed the chorus as they sat on benches made up of an array of railway sleepers.

A staff of about 30 will cater for young people during the day and stage concerts and work in the bar at night. Wolf Biermann plans to launch a [chan]son workshop, Udo Lindenberg and others hope to encourage young musicians.

The plans sound promising. The communication centre is a name that gives rise to great expectations. Can they be fulfilled? Horst Dietrich and his staff aim to make sure they are.

(Bremer Nachrichten, 1 October 1979)

The rebuilt *Fabrik* inside . . . (Photo: Conti)



. . . and outside (Photo: dpa)



The German Tribune

Hamburg, 25 November 1979
Eighteenth Year - No. 917 - By air

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Nato group clears ground for missile decisions

Nato's Nuclear Planning Group may not have scaled at the first attempt all the hurdles it might need to clear to ensure a smooth passage for nuclear modernisation at the Brussels winter session of the North Atlantic Council.

Its brief was to pave the way for Nato Foreign Ministers to approve a programme envisaging the manufacture and stationing in Western Europe of 108 Pershing 2 rockets and 464 Cruise missiles.

At a two-day meeting in The Hague the Nuclear Planning Group formed a coalition of 10 member-countries against Holland, whose government's hands are still tied by Parliamentary rulings on nuclear matters.

The Dutch are thus not in a position to give unqualified approval to plans that would involve immediate manufacture and stationing in Europe of a new quality in nuclear missile carriers.

At the end of November the Dutch government still had to weather a Parliamentary debate before it could formulate a definite decision.

Even then there can be no certainty it will be able to relay to Brussels the news that Holland has rejoined the ranks.

In this context the ranks mean the other Nato countries who have all unreservedly endorsed the immediate manufacture and stationing of the new generation of nuclear weapons.

The Dutch government may, of course, just be putting on the style; so may the Dutch Parliament with its reluctance to approve nuclear modernisation. It may just be a ploy.

The aim might well be to demonstrate to Holland's many domestic opponents of nuclear arms of whatever kind that the Dutch government and Parliament are none too happy about the idea. It would also, of course, be to demonstrate to the Soviet Union how peace-loving the Dutch really are.

Moscow is certainly going to take a dim view of the majority viewpoint put forward by Nato's nuclear planning group. Of that there can be no doubt.

On 14 November *De Telegraaf*, Amsterdam, ran the headline: "Netherlands isolated in Nato."

But Nato has a number of pacifiers at the ready for both Holland and the Kremlin. Bonn Defence Minister Hans Apel says the forthcoming North Atlantic Council decision will include three important signals.

The first will be an offer to reduce from 7,000 to 6,000 the number of US nuclear warheads stationed in Western Europe.

The second will be an intermediate offer in respect of the Vienna MBFR troop-cut talks, which have been in progress since 1974.

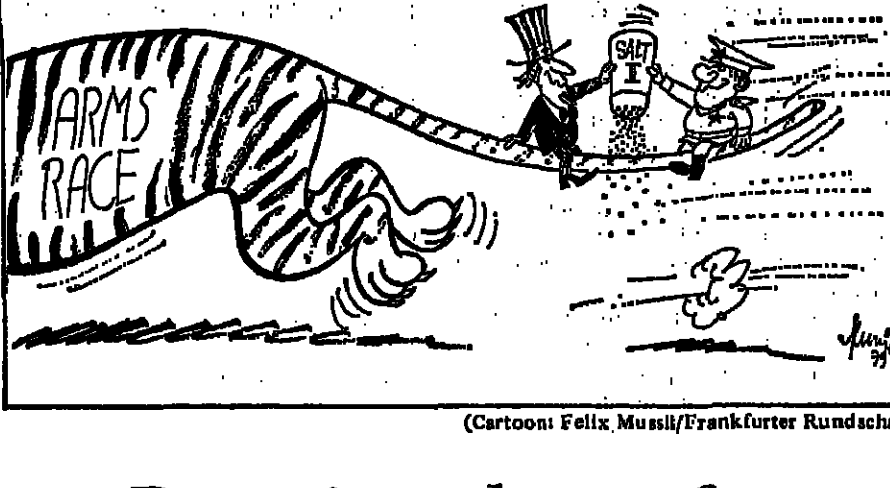
The third will be an indication of readiness to start Salt III talks on a reduction of medium-range "grey zone" nuclear missiles.

But these pacifiers beg two important questions. Will the Soviet Union and Dutch anti-nuclear campaigners hear the signals? And will they accept the pacifiers as sufficient incentive to suckle and be satisfied?

Helmut Weiand

(Nordwest Zeitung, 15 November 1979)

IN THIS ISSUE



(Cartoon: Felix Mussil/Frankfurter Rundschau)

Bonn signs cheque for aid to Kampuchea



Hildegard Hamm-Brücher, Minister of State at the Bonn Foreign Office, has handed a representative of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees a DM20m cheque for aid to Kampuchea.

This brings to DM50m so far the Bonn government's aid to Kampuchean refugees and for famine relief in Kampuchea. A further DM40m has been provided towards humanitarian relief elsewhere in Indo-China, mainly aid for Vietnamese refugees.

A Bonn government delegation led by Jens Petersen of the Foreign Office has just returned from Thailand, where it had seen for itself the state of Kampuchean refugees and briefed by the Thai government.

Herr Petersen is Bonn's special envoy with responsibility for Asian affairs.

It is understood from diplomatic circles that the delegation felt that although aid for starving Kampucheans via the Heng Samrin regime was essential, the worst suffering was in the war-torn border areas that could not be reached via Phnom Penh.

Bonn government experts were delighted that the Thai government had decided at the end of October to recognise the influx of Kampucheans as refugees and thereby enable aid to the provided by the UN High Commissioner and the International Red Cross.

One of the greatest difficulties, to judge by reports from Thailand, is that aid to refugees is initially improvised and time passes until supplies can be organised on a regular basis.

The security interests seem to be largely responsible for this time lag.

To surmount immediate problems Bonn has called on UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim to send an envoy to Thailand to improve liaison between aid organisations and the government.

At the time of writing no response has yet been forthcoming from the United Nations but the UN seems to be thinking along similar lines.

Bonn says substantial progress has been made by ensuring that representatives of its embassy in Bangkok visit refugee camps as often as possible to see what on-the-spot needs are.

Sadruddin Aga Khan, the former UN High Commissioner for Refugees, was awarded the Dag Hammarskjöld medal in West Berlin on 12 November by the West German UN Association.

The Aga Khan had made the High Commission a highly effective organisation providing worldwide aid to refugees and expellees, the citation claimed.

Bernt Conrad

(Die Welt, 13 November 1979)

Lambsdorff gives US assurance over Iran

Bonn will not pursue energy policies that run counter to US policy targets in the conflict with Iran, says Economic Affairs Minister Otto Lambsdorff.

He gave this assurance on 15 November in a Bundestag debate on an amended version of the Energy (Safeguards) Act.

He made it clear that there was to be no diverting to West Germany of Iranian oil bound for the United States now an important ban had been imposed by America.

He first pointed out, however, that it was difficult to control the destination of petroleum from its country of origin.

The decision where crude oil was to go was not taken at the gusher, the pipeline or the quayside of the country of origin but on board the tanker.

So leeway in controlling the flow of oil was greater in transport and in the logistical context than at the production end.

The Bonn Economic Affairs Ministry has, however, approached the oil companies and asked them not to use their leeway to redirect US-bound oil to Germany.

Count Lambsdorff said he felt sure the oil companies fully understood his request.

He had agreed with the US government on a thorough reappraisal of the new oil supply situation at the 16 November Paris meeting of the International Energy Agency's board of governors.

He also fully shared the US desire to bring forward the next meeting of the Energy Agency's Council of Ministers from January to December.

Energy policy was shortly to be reviewed with the European Community, especially the EEC Commission.

The latest events in Iran were unlikely to lead to serious supply upsets, he felt, since Iranian oil was playing a much less important role than it used to.

In the first half of 1979 Iranian oil output totalled a mere 62 million tonnes, or roughly a quarter of production in the first six months of 1978.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 16 November 1979)

■ NATO

Defence ministers ponder crucial armaments decision



Shielded from their civilian surroundings, amid lush meadows on which the ice glistened as the sun shone through the morning mist, 11 Nato Defence Ministers met in The Hague.

They conferred at the Princess Juliana barracks in Benoordenhout, a surburb of the Dutch capital, to pave the way for the most important political decision on armament the North Atlantic pact has taken in 25 years.

The formal decision to go ahead with the programme will not be taken until the 14 December meeting of the North Atlantic Council in Brussels.

But the 11 Ministers, all members of Nato's Nuclear Planning Group, first had to meet and approve a report by a group of experts on requirements and opportunities of bolstering nuclear armament in Europe.

At the end of November the standing conference of ambassadors to Nato will be reviewing and referring to the Council of Ministers a report by another group of experts.

This second report will deal with the terms of an offer to Moscow to negotiate a mutual limitation in the number of medium-range nuclear missiles stationed in Europe.

At present 572 missiles are scheduled for stationing in Western Europe: 108 Pershings with a range of 1,800 km (1,125 miles) and 116 mobile land-based launching devices for Cruise missiles with a range of up to 2,500 km (1,500 miles), each with a quota of four missiles, or 464 in all.

In Brussels recently the Nato countries, including Holland, agreed to go ahead with the arms programme, the Dutch Parliament having given its government a free hand even though there could be no doubt there would not be a majority in present in favour of stationing US medium-range missiles in Holland.

This was why the other Nato countries asked the Dutch Defence Minister for a political assessment of the programme's prospects in his country.

They wanted to be forewarned if there were any political reservations the Dutch government might have to make in December while agreeing in principle with the resolution before the Nato Council.

US Defence Secretary Harold Brown, who himself had long hesitated before finally endorsing the programme unreservedly last spring, was no longer willing to countenance hair-splitting distinctions.

Agreement in principle with the arms programme was no longer enough; it must be accompanied by a commitment to station US missiles in one's own country if so required.

He wanted a definite undertaking to station them so as to secure Congressional approval of the funds and Presidential approval of the arms planning needed to start delivering the new weapons systems in 1983.

And Defence Secretary Brown needs firm backing within Nato, with no ifs and buts, even though, in all probability, the Senate will not have reached a decision on Salt II by mid-December.

Indeed, the outcome of the Senate debate is by no means a foregone conclusion, so Washington is having to rely on the unreserved political solidarity of its Nato allies, who had previously been working on the assumption that Salt ratification by the US Senate would precede their arms ruling.

Even so, a link naturally exists between the Salt treaty and Nato's nuclear arms programme in Europe. Were it not for Salt II future talks with the Soviet Union on medium-range missiles in Europe would be a distant prospect or a non-starter even.

Were it not for Salt II, for that matter, reinforcement of the West's deterrent in Europe would be even more urgent and important.

There must be unanimous agreement on the nuclear arms programme for Europe at the Brussels summit in December, regardless whether a country is willing to station missiles or not.

Those that are willing to do so will thereby, as Washington sees it, reinforce their claim to a say in strategy, security policy and arms control.

The countries that will be called on to do so are Britain, Belgium, Holland, Italy and the Federal Republic of Germany.

In the Hague the US Defence Secretary urged them to make a definitive commitment to station a specific number of missiles, always with the proviso that the total, 572, would be reduced if agreement were reached with the Soviet Union.

This, of course, was the crucial question, How many medium-range missiles would they be prepared to forgo (and on what terms) in return for a reduction in the number of corresponding Soviet missiles?

In principle Nato is agreed that the entire arms programme cannot be deemed negotiable. Its members feel it is militarily essential to be able to extend the range of nuclear weapons systems in Europe and maintain, by means of controlled escalation, the efficacy of the flexible response strategy.

Zero stationing, or dispensing with the entire arms programme, remains a theoretical possibility, but no-one in Nato expects it to result from talks with the Kremlin.

Mr Brezhnev has offered to withdraw a hitherto unspecified number of medium-range missiles from the western Soviet Union. Mr Falin has specified that they would not just be dismantled but completely scrapped.

The Soviet proviso was, of course, that no weapons of this range must be stationed in Western Europe, and Moscow's offer hardly seems to signify Soviet willingness to dispense altogether with the Kremlin's medium-range nuclear potential.

Given Soviet numerical superiority in land-based medium-range missile systems, a mutual undertaking not to manufacture more would merely perpetuate the imbalance.

In the 1,000km to 5,000km range Soviet superiority is 5 to 1, with a special role being played by Moscow's 120 SS-20 launching devices and 80 Backfire bombers.

These, then, were the considerations that guided Nato experts in drafting the negotiation terms to be put forward to the Soviet Union.

1. Talks are to be proposed on nuclear warheads as part of land-based weapons systems, not on the number of missile launching devices or aircraft.

In the first phase the aim will be to slow down any increasy in the number of SS-20 missiles and Backfire bombers.

In a second phase the objective will be to arrive at approximate parity in the number of targetable medium-ra[nge] missiles.

2. Parity is to be the guiding princ[iple] of negotiations without numerical p[arity] absolutely needing to be agreed, a[s] other weapons systems, such as nuc[lear] subs, could swing the balance of po[wer].

3. US sea-based weapons sys[tems] such as the 40 Poseidon missiles b[ased] in the Mediterranean with their warheads, are not included because [they] are already covered by the terms o[f the] Salt agreement.

4. British and French strategic nu[clear] weapons are also not included in [the] proposed terms of reference.

5. A withdrawal of Soviet missil[es to] the east is not considered adequate. [The] target of negotiations is the disman[tling] and scrapping of missiles on the ba[sis of] a limitation on missile manufactur[e and] stationing applying to a signatory's [en]tire territory.

6. Negotiations are to be conduct[ed as S]alt talks by the United States on its [own] and Nato's behalf. Nato will set u[p a] standing arms control policy monit[oring] and planning body.

7. Negotiations on medium[-range] nuclear weapons will be held stric[tly se]parate from the Vienna MBFR talks [on] mutual balanced force reduction betw[een] Nato and the Warsaw Pact in Cen[tral] Europe.

This point has a direct bearing on [the] proposed withdrawal of 1,000 US tac[tical] nuclear warheads from Central Eur[ope] where about 4,000 (out of a total 7[,000] in Europe) are currently based.

In the forthcoming Brussels [Nato] communiqué the Americans will st[ate] their intention of making this unilat[eral] reduction in the number of US nucle[ar] weapons in Europe.

No mention will be made of [Mr] Brezhnev's offer to withdraw 20,0[00] men and 1,000 main battle tanks fr[om] the GDR, but Mr Carter's offer will [be] paid to the extra nuclear proposals [put] forward by the talks in December 19[75].

The West's MBFR offer was to w[ith]draw 1,000 nuclear weapons, inclu[ding] 54 US bomber aircraft and 36 Persh[ing] rockets, in return for the withdra[wal] from Central Europe of 1,700 So[viet] tanks and 68,000 troops.

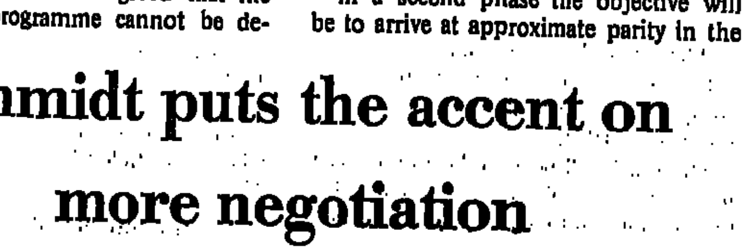
The Americans have told their [pa]rtners in Europe that the proposed ar[ms] programme, far from increasing [the] overall number of nuclear weapons [sys]tems and warheads in Europe in gen[eral] and Central Europe in particular, co[uld] well reduce it.

The 108 Pershing 2 launching dev[ices] would replace the present generation [of] Pershing rockets based in West Ger[ma]ny. The 116 Cruise missile launch[ers] with their 464 missiles, would b[e sta]tioned as follows:-

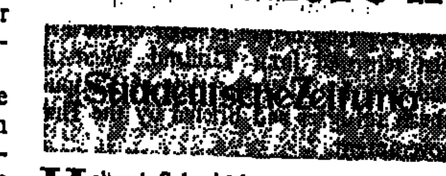
Forty in Britain, 28 in Italy, 26 in [the] Federal Republic and 12 each in [Bel]gium and Holland.

Lothar Rü[hl]

(Die Zeit, 16 November 1979)



Schmidt puts the accent on more negotiation



Helmut Schmidt's speech to the Social Democratic parliamentary party in Bonn may not have been sensational, but the arms control and disarmament debate is definitely in motion on several fronts.

His speech may not have been sensational inasmuch as it lacked spectacular new offers, but the Chancellor's remarks made it clear that the West is keen to avoid any break in the thread spun by Mr Brezhnev not long ago.

There seems to be a general realisation that further confidence-building measures are needed before a first agreement can be reached at the Vienna MBFR troop-cut talks.

Readiness to withdraw 1,000 US nuclear warheads from Western Europe has hitherto formed part of a Western negotiation package offered to the Soviet Union.

Now Mr Brezhnev has said the Soviet Union will be withdrawing 20,000 men and 1,000 tanks from the GDR Herr Schmidt says the West should withdraw its nuclear warheads as a suitable unilateral counter-measure.

This would in no way reduce the West's security, while it could contribute towards a further improvement in the East-West climate from which the Vienna talks could well benefit.

Other comments the Chancellor chose to make, especially on new medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe, were aimed in particular at his Social Democratic Party, which is due to debate the issue at its December conference in West Berlin.

He pointed out that three or four years would elapse before these new weapons were available for stationing in Western Europe, time that must be used for negotiations with Moscow.

This point was nothing new, but it did remind the Social Democrats that Bonn is seriously considering the possibility of forgoing new missiles to the extent to which the Soviet Union reduces its own arsenal, thereby establishing a balance.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 15 November 1979)

The German Tribune

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■ HOME AFFAIRS

The Federal system 'facing crisis'

In its thirtieth anniversary year the Federal Republic of Germany is bedevilled by an alarming development. There is a serious risk of the Federal government being substantially hampered in its freedom of activity.

It could even be argued that the spectre of the Federal Republic coming apart at the seams is looming on the horizon.

In recent weeks signs of erosion have come to light at various points, and so far there has been no sign of a political therapy to deal with them.

Indeed, their very frequency has given rise to fears that it may not be long before the rot can no longer be stopped.

The Federal Republic can only function as a confederation as long as the Länder, or constituent states, are on reasonably good terms with the central government and cooperate with it to a sufficient extent.

For 30 years this cooperative federalism worked quite well. They were decades in which a generation of founding fathers made up a substantial proportion of politicians and exerted a corresponding influence.

They ensured a sufficient feeling of community and understanding of overriding State considerations.

Both have declined steadily as one generation has handed over to the next. Party-political concepts have beaten back the basic consensus to such an extent that separatist views might be said to be taking shape.

As in the days when Germany was rent by denominational differences, the Länder are taking sides largely in terms of whether they are ruled by a Social and Free Democrat coalition or a Christian Democrat or Christian Social Union government.

Cooperation above and beyond party-political boundaries no longer seems possible except when circumstances absolutely demand it. Ideological inflexibility reigns supreme.

This is most clearly apparent in the embittered dispute over the comprehensive school and educational policy in general, on which the Bonn Bundestag recently reached a most disheartening decision.

In educational terms it was a repeat of the Reformation ruling, made at Augsburg in the early 16th century, that state religions in member-states of the Holy Roman Empire were to be decided by their respective rulers.

By much the same token ("cuius regio, eius religio") a majority of schoolchildren and students in Germany today are taught in accordance with the educational system favoured by the party in power.

The Federal Republic of Germany no longer has a common, shared educational system. The consequences are alarming and it does not look as though it will be long before we plummet well below the level enjoyed by other countries in both specialised knowledge and general education.

The media is another sector in which the internal set-up of the Federal Republic seems on the verge of break-up. The destruction of Norddeutscher Rundfunk envisaged by Lower Saxon Premier Ernst Albrecht, must surely be rated a warning signal.

He may have valid objections to individual programmes broadcast by NDR, a non-profit, non-partisan monopoly broadcasting corporation financed from licence fees and run jointly by Hamburg, Lower Saxony and Schleswig-Holstein.

But they cannot possibly justify a bid to break up this leading broadcasting corporation and pursue parish-pump media policies that must mark the end of systematic order in the media sector.

It would be gratifying to learn that last-minute compromise efforts by Schleswig-Holstein Premier Gerhard Stoltenberg had met with success.

Common endeavour has been rendered substantially more difficult in fiscal policy too, as was patently evident in the dispute over the introduction of a new-style children's allowance.

In a society in which the State pockets 36.6 per cent of private household earnings and the State sector already accounts for 32 per cent the public finance sector has assumed extreme political importance.

A majority of the public regards the State as little more than a gigantic machine to redistribute incomes and stakes hefty claims but has scant goodwill left towards the State.

So once the public finance sector is no longer in working order, nothing more will work.

The root cause of this decline in the

Continued on page 15

Düsseldorf Free Democrats axe party leader Riemer

North Rhine-Westphalia's Free Democrats heartlessly served their longstanding state chairman Horst-Ludwig Riemer notice to quit with six months to go to crucial local government elections.

The state assembly elections are sure to prove of equal importance to the Social and Free Democratic coalitions in Düsseldorf and Bonn.

In North Rhine-Westphalia, capital Düsseldorf, the FDP, junior partner in both coalitions, sacked Herr Riemer in the hope of emerging from the electoral doldrums.

There is no other satisfactory explanation for the sudden fall from grace, unsatisfactory in both dramatic and human terms, of Horst-Ludwig Riemer, 46.

He had led the state's Free Democrats for 7 years and held Cabinet office in Düsseldorf for 9, time enough to amass a long list of breaches of party discipline.

Why was he not sacked in June when the first attempt failed? Only insiders may ever know. His political demise, when it finally came, took a mere 55 minutes.

But it was a singularly unsatisfactory hatchet job on a man in his sickbed and unable to speak in his own defence.

It followed a three-day top-level crisis among state FDP leaders. The state assembly party passed a unanimous vote of no-confidence in him for divulging confidential information.

The beans he spilt included the name of the Free Democrat favoured to succeed North Rhine-Westphalia Interior Minister Burkhard Hirsch next year when he moves from Düsseldorf to Bonn.

Hans Gattermann, an FDP member of the Bonn Bundestag, was the man in question, but his name had not yet officially been proposed to the state executive committee.

In itself the disclosure was not such a dire misdemeanour, since Herr Riemer was not the first to let the cat out of the bag.

But in his case it proved disastrous because he had only just escaped the political hatchet by solemnly promising never to go it alone in this way ever again.

This broken promise and a number of unfortunate comments about Social Democrats and fellow-Free Democrats were promptly relayed to the state assembly party.

Prompt action was essential, the word went round, otherwise the party might fare even worse with election time coming round. To save the party, it was decided, Riemer had to be axed.

Now he has resigned (and he did so in a dignified manner) the 25,000 Free Democrats in North Rhine-Westphalia (popularion 17m) are hoping to regain favour with voters.

Regain it they must after losing ground heavily in the European Assembly and local elections. Ecologists are vying for their share of the vote, Social Democrats view them with suspicion and Christian Democrats dismiss them.

The Free Democrats are fighting for survival, and banking on Riemer's deputy, Interior Minister Hirsch, and Bundestag Deputy Speaker *Liselotte Funcke*.

Herr Hirsch, Free Democrat leader and Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher has decided, is to take over as state chairman, while Frau Funcke, a tax expert, is to campaign as top candidate and prospective Economic Affairs Minister in Düsseldorf.

This division of labour may well prove of crucial importance for the FDP in the forthcoming campaign. Where Herr Riemer compromised to the point of irresolution, his two successors can now keep everyone happy.

Herr Hirsch can court the anti-nuclear lobby while Frau Funcke aims at small businessmen and the middle class in general. While one bids for left-wing support the other will court right-wing Liberals.

State Free Democrats, while sceptical about the prospects of this ruling, are glad the leadership crisis is over.

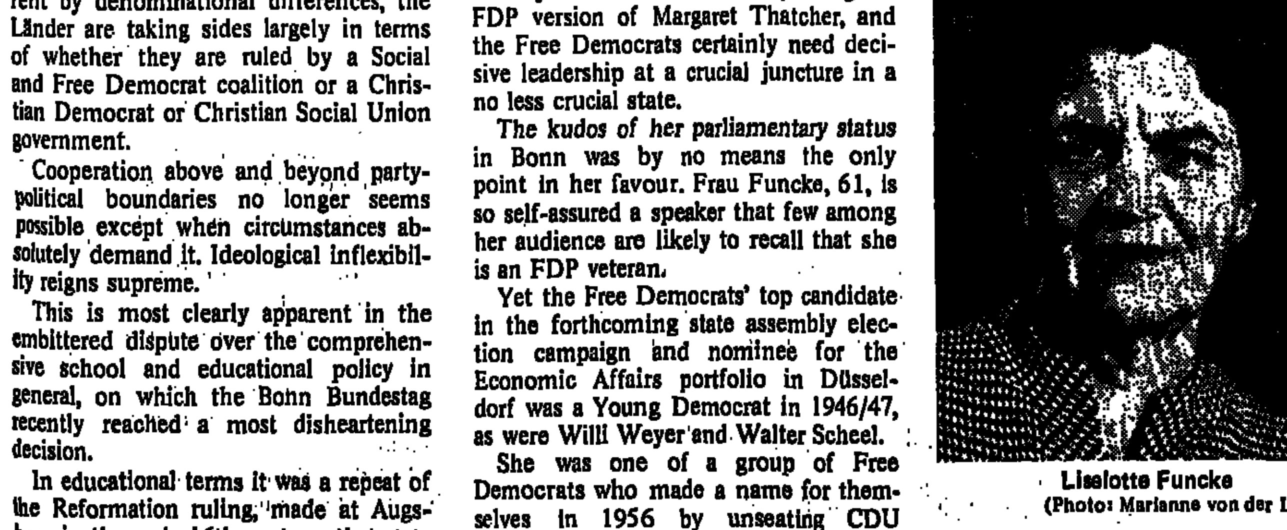
Social Democrats are likewise sceptical about Herr Hirsch, who although he is, relatively speaking, on their side has gone it alone all too often.

He has done so especially on legal issues and in ways neither his own party nor the Social Democrats could be expected to approve.

There is no reason why (Social Democrats argue) he should stop doing so now he is Free Democrat leader in North Rhine-Westphalia.

Bernd Kleffner

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 18 November 1979)



Top FDP candidate steps in at a crucial time

Free Democrats on the Rhine and in the Ruhr are hoping Bundestag Deputy Speaker Liselotte Funcke will turn up trumps in North Rhine-Westphalia.

They have vision of her proving an FDP version of Margaret Thatcher, and the Free Democrats certainly need decisive leadership at a crucial juncture in a no less crucial state.

The kudos of her parliamentary status in Bonn was by no means the only point in her favour. Frau Funcke, 61, is so self-assured a speaker that few among her audience are likely to recall that she is an FDP veteran.

Yet the Free Democrats' top candidate in the forthcoming state assembly election campaign and nominee for the Economic Affairs portfolio in Düsseldorf was a Young Democrat in 1946/47, as were Willi Weyer and Walter Scheel.

She was one of a group of Free Democrats who made a name for themselves in 1956 by unseating CDU Premier Karl Arnold and switching allegiance to the Social Democrats.

One outcome of this move was that Free Democrats forfeited financial support from industrial backers. Frau Funcke was one of the fund-raisers who ensured the party's financial survival.

Like Walter Scheel and others, she made full use of the FDP's links with small businessmen and smaller companies. Since 1944 she had helped manage her father's drop forge and screw factory in Hagen.

Hagen has always enjoyed a Liberal reputation, and her father, Oskar Funcke, was elected a Liberal member of the provincial assembly in 1929.

From 1951 to 1953 he was a member of the Bonn Bundestag. His daughter was not elected to the Bundestag until 1961, after an 11-year stint in the state assembly.

As part of what might be termed the Hagen tradition she has long been a leading lay member of the Protestant Church. She studied management in Berlin, learnt accountancy in Wuppertal and went on to help manage the family firm.



Liselotte Funcke
(Photo: Marianne von der Lancken)

She has been on the Bundestag finance committee since 1961, also proving a steadying influence on FDP policy on women's and religious affairs.

She will be hard to replace in Bonn, esspecially as she has no obvious successor among women FDP MPs. But FDP leader Hans-Dietrich Genscher felt this was a minor consideration in comparison with a solution to the party's leadership crisis in North Rhine-Westphalia.

Liselotte Funcke now mans the FDP masthead on Rhine and Ruhr. She should prove a factor for integration in a party at loggerheads with itself.

Peter Weigert

(Die Welt, 12 November 1979)

■ THE MEDIA

Radio-TV network future in melting pot

Talks between Lower Saxony, Schleswig-Holstein and Hamburg, aimed at preserving the three-*Länder* joint radio and television broadcasting system known as Norddeutscher Rundfunk (NDR), have broken down. Lower Saxony's Prime Minister, Ernst Albrecht, insisted to the very end on a station for his own *Land*. Hamburg now pins its hopes on the courts, hoping that the ending of the NDR treaty will be ruled illegal.

The commotion over the NDR is understandable. Radio and television have become an integral part of everybody's life in this country, and most homes keep their TV sets switched on for at least two hours a day.

More than half of Germany's population gets its news of the day from TV. And, for children, TV broadcasts have become such an essential part of their existence that many are unable to differentiate between life as depicted on TV and reality.

Nobody questions the influence of television on the public's views and ideas. It is therefore understandable that legislators and governments are concerned over our broadcasting system, for this is their duty.

But the way they go about it varies. In America, everybody is free to operate a radio or TV station. Of course, he stands to lose his licence if he fails to comply with certain regulations. Not so in the Communist countries, where broadcasting serves solely the State.

The Federal Republic of Germany has chosen a middle-of-the-road solution. We neither have a government nor a private broadcasting system. The existing networks are public sector institutions operating under specific laws and contracts that contain specific directives, at the same time ensuring that these networks are largely financed from the public's licence fees.

The German system has its advantages. As a rule, it prevents undesirable outside interference in programme-making, keeping the broadcasts largely free from irksome commercials.

But this system also has its drawbacks, one of the most important being the lack of competition. Radio waves, fortunately, are unhampered by frontiers, enabling the inhabitant of Hesse to tune into any other station outside his home *Land*.

And television has for years had common programmes of the regional systems through programme scheduling and co-ordinating committees known by their initials ARD and ZDF and providing this country with its two major networks.

But notwithstanding the two networks, competition is very limited. Backed and buttressed by the political parties and the *Länder* governments, the networks have so far been able to uphold a principle more akin to government authorities than to the media: every tax department has its own district in which it is not subject to competition from another department.

The TV broadcasters feel that every channel should also be free of competition in its own area.

There is actually no reason for this restricted competition as long as enough frequencies are available and an orderly form of funding can be ensured.

The breakdown of the NDR negotiations is partly due to the fact that Hamburg — emphatically supported by the Social Democratic Party — was adamant in not permitting anybody to touch upon the "monopoly" of the broadcasting stations.

Hamburg argues that this public sector broadcasting system has proved its worth in its present form. But in reality its defenders want to preserve the power they wield within the NDR.

The "generation of 1968" has moved into the huge NDR apparatus during the past 10 years and has managed to seize many key positions. This has led to a bias towards the left.

This was one of the reasons for the ending of the NDR contract by CDU-governed Schleswig-Holstein. It was also one of the most important reasons why Christian Democrat Ernst Albrecht, Lower Saxony's Prime Minister, went even further than his Schleswig-Holstein opposite number had intended to go.

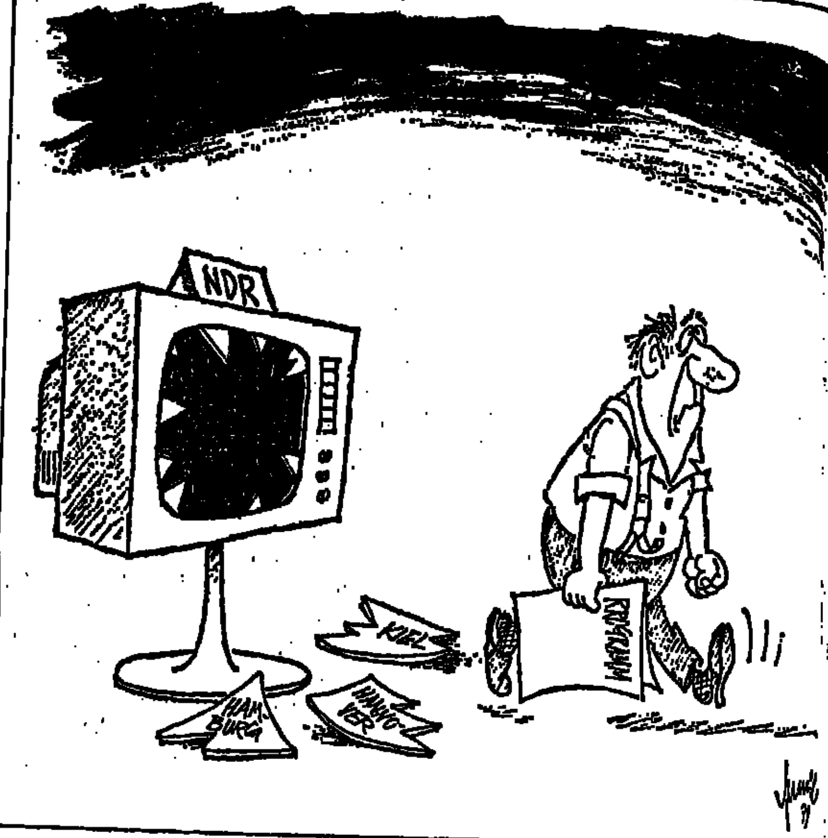
Unlike Gerhard Stoltenberg, Herr Albrecht was from the very beginning out to break the NDR "monopoly".

In fact, he wanted even more: he wanted to usher in a *Götterdämmerung* of public sector broadcasting in a way that would affect the broadcasting system in the whole of the Federal Republic of Germany.

It was a grand design, aimed at introducing competition in broadcasting. Using the actual outcome of the NDR talks as a yardstick, the results seem absurd at first glance: the only thing that transpired was that Hamburg was to be manoeuvred out of the NDR; Lower Saxony and Schleswig-Holstein would continue to operate the network with new supervisory committees, but with the same editors.

Thus the monopoly of the NDR would continue, eased only by the anticipated establishment of a Hamburg network that is bound to try to beam its programmes heavily to Lower Saxony and Schleswig-Holstein.

Herr Albrecht's idea of introducing competition could also be realised by licensing a private operator, if the court ends the original contract, between the three *Länder*.



(Cartoon: Felix Mussil/Frankfurter Rundschau)

However, television and radio are now administered by non-profit making public bodies, Therefore, legislation would have to be changed if private interests are to become involved.

The advocates of the public sector system hope that the Constitutional Court will firmly uphold it — in which case Herr Albrecht's plans will be doomed.

In the long run, however, nothing will stop the *Götterdämmerung* of this system.

The reason is that television will be faced with a technical revolution in the 80s, enabling viewers to tune in to virtually any programme via satellite. This is bound to greatly erode the authority of the individual *Länder* over the broadcasting system.

Cable TV is also bound to come, and it is hard to imagine that its almost unlimited possibilities will be used only by public sector networks.

Ernst Albrecht could therefore well be spearheading an inexorable development. But in that case there is still the question whether he is not prematurely attacking a fortress due to fall anyway in a couple of years.

Wolfgang Wagner

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 10 November 1979)

State treaties a basis of national system

The West German broadcasting authority, and the country's first TV channel, ARD, was formed in 1950 and has existed in its present form since 1962.

It is made up of the nine *Länder* radio and TV stations: Bayerischer Rundfunk, Radio Bremen, Hessischer Rundfunk, Norddeutscher Rundfunk, Saarländischer Rundfunk, Sender Feies Berlin, Süddeutscher Rundfunk, Südwestfunk, Westdeutscher Rundfunk — plus the foreign service stations, Deutschlandfunk and Deutsche Welle (they broadcast only radio programmes).

Rias Berlin (short for Radio in the American Sector) is not part of the ARD but can be summoned in a consulting capacity.

The membership and tasks of the ARD are laid down in the statutes of 9/10 June, 1950. They also govern accession and quitting.

Section 8 reads; "Every German broadcasting station domiciled in the Federal Republic of Germany is eligible for membership if its basic features coincide with the stations listed in Section 1." (See above).

And; "The member are entitled to resign following a 12-month notice to the end of the business year."

Fundamental agreements involving several *Länder* and their stations are subject to "state treaties."

The notice periods are set out in the individual state treaties. For the NDR state treaty of 15 February 1955, now ended by Schleswig-Holstein, the notice period was two years, to become effective at the automatic extension date for the five-year contract.

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 7 November 1979)

A blueprint for commercial channels

Commercial television in West G[...] many should have its programm[...] controlled by "socially relevant" grou[...] according to Karl Günther von Hase, [...]rector of the country's *second TV* [...]work, Zweites Deutsches Fernse[...] (ZDF).

These groups, which included [...] churches, labour unions and employ[...] should also act as organisers and hav[...] hand in programme making, he said.

Commercial TV, he said, should [...] be licensed if there is equal opportu[...] between it and the public sector [...]works. And such an equal opportu[...] can only be ensured if commercial [...]levision is obliged to offer viewers [...] same variety as the existing networks.

Moreover, steps would have to [...] taken to prevent financial control by [...]fering top staffers of the existing [...]works higher salaries.

A danger of uncontrolled competiti[...] was that many viewers might well be [...]tracted away from the present chann[...] by mass-appeal entertainment p[...]grammes.

And this might encourage many peop[...] to refuse to pay licence fees.

And he says that the commercial b[...]reaucracy should be organised in a si[...]lar manner, because it will face the sa[...] problems and work with the same orga[...]isations as the current networks.

Herr von Hase brushed aside sugge[...]tions that all that would happen wou[...] be that the two media giants, ARD an[...] ZDF, would be joined by a third colo[...]sus.

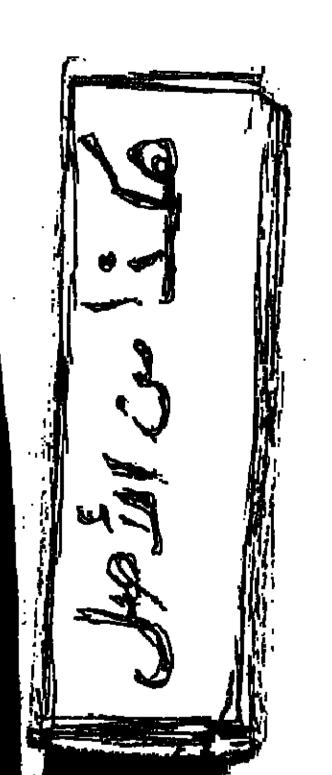
The way he saw it, the commerci[...] system would consist of a number of r[...]gional stations.

He also rebutted the suspicion th[...] his model of commercial TV under vir[...]tually total control was a view of the [...] future intended to deter potential oper[...]ators.

Said von Hase: "I only tried to show how such a system would look once it is permitted to operate."

Joachim Neander

(Die Welt, 8 November 1979)



■ HISTORY

Dutch view of resistance within Third Reich

Dutchman Ger van Roon is well known as the author of a standard work on the history of German resistance to Hitler during the Third Reich: *"Neuordnung im Widerstand. Der Kreisauer Kreis innerhalb der deutschen Widerstandsbewegung."*

Now he has produced a book originally intended for Dutch readers, to give them a precise, succinct and objective idea of this aspect of German history. But it will also be very useful for German readers. ("Widerstand im Dritten Reich", Verlag C. H. Beck, Munich).

Van Roon is not only interested in the activities of the resistance movement. His primary interest is in the ideological platform of this opposition to national socialism and the Nazi regime.

His primary interest is in the ideological platform of this opposition to national socialism and the Nazi regime.

He is right in his introductory remark that: "The weakness of literature on the German resistance is mainly its apologetic nature. The writers were concerned to answer accusations from various sides: that of treason or of inadequate activity, or else they were concerned to prove that this or that group was reactionary or revolutionary — or that they were not."

This overview does not suffer from this approach. It is an advantage that a foreigner has taken up the daunting task of describing the German resistance movement as it was, with critical distance and without prejudices.

Forty-six years after Hitler's seizure of power and 35 years after 20 July 1944, the dramatic culmination point of resistance, this outline of events is extremely welcome.

Van Roon concludes: "Research to date show that resistance in its totality from non-conformist protest to active resistance was more widespread than has hitherto been assumed."

And the main achievement of this Dutch writer is that he describes the range of the resistance movement briefly and precisely in a comprehensible and easily readable style which makes this book ideal for use in schools.

Of course van Roon knows that dissatisfaction with the government as such or with specific measures cannot be classified as resistance. He tries to describe the various degrees of resistance — from protest in the pulpit to the planting of a bomb in the Führer's headquarters.

In his first chapter, "Difficulties and Possibilities", van Roon explains how difficult it is to define the word resistance.

"When we use the word resistance we must not imagine organisations which with their organisational apparatus would have brought their members into danger.

"Resistance in Germany consisted mainly of small groups and individuals working in cells as part of a greater whole, usually without contact with one another and in isolation ...

"This isolation was characteristic of the German resistance — far more so than in the resistance movements of the occupied countries, where resistance members knew they had the support of important sections of the population."

After introductory comments on the problems the German resistance movement faced, van Roon gives an outline of the different forms and developments in the various resistance circles. He begins with a chapter on "Humanitarian Resistance", taking a look at the large numbers of people who felt it their duty to help the persecuted and other people in difficulty.

Then there are chapters on "Resistance among the Young," "Communist Resistance," "Social Democratic Resistance," "The Protestant Church," "Catholic Resistance," "Military Resistance," "The Goerdeler Group", "The Kreislau Circle," and "July 20, 1944."

In the last chapter van Roon shows the connections between the German resistance and foreign resistance movements. Here the European dimensions become clear, as well as another aspect which has never been put before with such clarity and which is summed up in the following sentence: "It is certainly justified to compare the German resistance with the resistance movements of the 19th and 20th centuries and to see them in connection with the struggle for human rights today."

Franz Herre

(Parlament, 10 November 1979)

Justice minister says 6,400 Nazis convicted

Since the foundation of the Federal Republic of Germany, 6,400 people have been convicted of crimes during the Nazi era and 3,000 others are now on trial for such crimes, according to Bonn Minister of Justice Hans-Jochen Vogel.

Speaking at the Land Political Education Centre and the Society for Christian-Jewish Co-operation in Stuttgart, Herr Vogel said that thousands of Nazi criminals had also been sentenced abroad. Since 1948 a total of DM 60 bn in compensation had been paid to the victims of Nazi persecution and their dependants.

Herr Vogel stressed that every profession and every social group carried part of the blame for what happened during the Third Reich.

The legal system and lawyers "too quickly and largely without offering resistance became the handmaidens of this inhuman system."

Abolition of the statute of limitations for murder which came into force on 22 July this year could set a signal for the radical rejection of "what was murderous and life-destroying in national socialism."

ddp

(Der Tagesspiegel, 9 November 1979)

Laws sought to halt extremists

The Bonn government favours legal measures to help put a stop to the increasing activities of right-wing extremists.

Speaking to a meeting of the SPD parliamentary party in West Berlin, Bonn Minister of Justice Hans-Jochen Vogel said the Government would immediately be amending laws to close gaps in the legislation covering neo-Nazi activities.

Herr Vogel and Antje Huber, Minister of the Family, Youth and Health, also called for greater intellectual and political efforts to counter neo-Nazism and analyse the causes and effects of national socialism.

Frau Huber stressed that schools in particular would have to do more to help pupils recognise the dangers of extremism.

One particular gap that needed closing was that the use and dissemination of objects with Nazi emblems such as toys was illegal but not the production or import of such objects.

Herr Vogel also considers a further amendment to the law, necessary in order to prosecute the extreme right wing Deutsche National-Zeitung.

Herr Vogel said that to date 139 people had been convicted of neo-Nazi activities, and 105 others are awaiting final sentence.

Investigations were being carried out in the case of another 310 people and 17 people were on remand for neo-Nazi activities.

dpa

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 7 November 1979)

The film that opened up the past

Talks of Germany's past annoys people more and more as the years and decades go by.

One often hears people say that all these things should be forgotten and we should concentrate on the future and not keep looking back.

Ever since the debate on the statute of limitations — an exercise of duty conducted with foreign opinion in mind but otherwise carried out without great enthusiasm — there are many who think that that is that and the whole chapter is closed.

Then came the amazing change when the American film "Holocaust" — commercial but effective — was shown on German TV.

Suddenly many millions of people in this country had to sit up and think. However, the effect did not last long. "Holocaust" since then has since become an almost euphemistic slogan freeing us from the need to call things by their real names — mass murder and genocide.

The holocaust in the Indian Ocean, the holocaust in Cambodia — these things happen everywhere, no one has a monopoly.

This nation is not only the nation of Bach or Beethoven but also that of Hitler and Himmler, the moving forces behind crimes that could only have been committed with the aid and as a result of the tolerance or readiness to look away at the right moment of hundreds of thousands of Germans.

It is an indication of remarkable inertia of conscience that an entire generation of young people had to wait for "Holocaust" to get even a remote idea of what happened at that time.

The older generation have simply repressed this memory.

However, the confrontation with this appalling past goes on, whether we like it or not,

- The eerie Maidanek trial which has been dragging on for years and in which the few surviving witnesses for the prosecution have become victims of unscrupulous defence lawyers;
- The Lischka trial now being held in Cologne — a trial which only came about as a result of the sensational verbal and violent actions of the Klarsfelds, after the creation of the legal possibility of holding the trial had been scandalously blocked in the Bundestag;
- The Auschwitz files recently found rotting away in a damp cellar; the recently revealed and palpable efforts in the Rhineland-Palatinate to prevent an SS Obersturmbannführer by the name of Arnold Strippel from being brought to trial for atrocities in Holland;

— The new, but clearly only pro forma, investigations into the past of former judges of the Nazi Volksgerichtshof. This all speaks for itself.

But this phenomenon is observable not only in the purely criminal sphere. *Die Zeit* recently reported on an unworthy wrangle about the Stuttgart City Chronicle, which attempted to pass over as briefly and painlessly as possible the Nazi period — though the chronicle is otherwise very thorough in its accounts.

An impressive counter-example: in the essay to celebrate the 100th anniversary of the Munich Chamber of Lawyers there is a long chapter containing an objective and absolutely uncompromising account of the way in which Jewish but also other politically awkward lawyers lost their livelihood thanks to the Lawyers' Chamber, which had been *gleichgeschaltet* (brought into line).

These lawyers in many cases also lost their freedom and in some cases their lives. The forthrightness with which these events are described does credit to the authors and the Chamber. This chapter documents the disgrace of our nation — a disgrace from which no profession could be acquitted during that period.

Schiller once wrote of the curse of the wicked deed that was doomed to go on bearing more wickedness. But there is also the opportunity of learning from past wickedness.

The fathers of the constitution did so when they laid down the basic rights — basic rights to which Lischka, Heinrichsohn and Hagen can all now appeal, men accused of complicity in the murder of 73,000 Jews, men, women, children and old people.

The accused are considered typical "bureaucratic murderers". It now has to be meticulously proved that the knew of the "final solution", which they claim to have known nothing of.

Author and former GDR citizen Reiner Kunze ("The Wonderful Years") said on a TV programme recently that the people of this country did not know how lucky they were to be allowed to live in freedom.

He said that the people in the GDR were the slaves of power whereas here they were in danger of becoming "slaves of money."

This was a very mild formulation. Is not one of the roots of the evil the crass materialism which has increasingly eliminated moral categories and sees moral values as mere moralistic palaver.

A materialism which simply refuses to keep alive this consciousness of our past and to pass on to future generations the readiness to ward off all injustice, whereever it may come from.

Are we condemned to being without history? And is this not the essence of the oblivion in which we seek to plunge our disgrace? *Ernst Müller-Meiningen Jr.*

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 5 November 1979)

RESOURCES

Coastal nations extend off-shore limits in anticipation of 200-mile pact



More than 90 nations with coastlines have so far extended their offshore territorial limits in anticipation of an international agreement.

The Third Law of the Sea Conference has been in session since 1973 in New York, and at issue is whether the limit should be extended to 200 nautical miles.

The objective, among other things, is to arrive at an international treaty that would regulate the ownership rights of coastal states to the resources of the sea and the seabed.

Now, the industrialised countries, which have come to realise that exclusive economic zones have become a fait accompli, are beginning to come to terms with them.

But there are still a number of big issues to be settled. As a result, the Law of the Sea Conference is likely to go on for some time yet.

The dispute, of course, is about the resources of the sea. These are becoming more important as the world's supplies of raw materials dwindle.

The industrialised countries argue that they should at least be given a chance to explore and develop new sea-bed mining techniques.

They fear that the Third World has *neither the cash nor the expertise to exploit the sea.*

The developing countries themselves seem to have realised this now. But they still insist on preserving their title under the international treaty now being negotiated, even after the research work has been concluded.

They still remember the huge amounts of money and technology used to produce oil — and how the developing countries scarcely benefited.

But since, in the course of development, the Third World will also depend on these resources, their willingness to negotiate this issue is probably greater than that concerning the exploitation of existing fish stocks — an even more acute problem at this stage.

In view of the rapidly growing world population and chronic food shortages, the Third World has come to recognise the importance of the sea for food.

More than 20 per cent of all animal protein comes from the sea, and experts predict that this proportion will increase considerably.

The UN Food and Agricltural Organisation (FAO), Rome, estimates that there are some 10m fishermen in the developing world. Adding those who work in fish processing and marketing and their families, it is easy to figure out that several hundred million people in those countries depend on the sea for their livelihood.

Their interests conflict with those of the fishing industry in the industrialised countries. The technical revolution that has taken place in the fishing fleets since World War II has led to catches many times the size of those before the war.

While earlier generations of fishermen had to rely on luck and experience, today they need a good sonar technician to tell them how much fish they can find, and where.

Processing and canning methods (such as blast freezing on board) have also been improved. So has marketing.

"Near fresh" fish can now be had in most inland areas. Steadily growing demand and the wanton compliance with all consumer wishes combined with ever more sophisticated fishing methods have led to depletion of stocks.

Traditional fishing grounds in the North Sea and Nort Atlantic are over fished, and the herring, only a few years ago a poor people's staple, has become so rare as to make it a much sought after delicacy.

It was thus inevitable for the trawlers of industrialised countries, having fished out their traditional grounds, to turn to more distant shores — mostly those of developing countries.

Apart from a narrow three-mile strip, the seas and their resources have been considered the common property of all nations since the 18th century.

The extention of the economic zone to 200 miles (once it has become universal) will not only cover a sea area approximately the size of the earth's land mass, but — and this is even more important — more than 95 per cent of commercial fishing grounds will come under the control of individual States.

Ever since this sank in the fishermen of the industrialised world have been deploring the end of the freedom of the sea and, as Bonn Agriculture Minister Josef Ertl recently put it, "the negative development of the law of the sea."

No matter how one looks at this development, its effects on the fishing industries of the developed world will be massive.

Bonn policy makers realise that, in the long run, they will be unable to preserve the present number of jobs in the offshore fishing industry. Even the DM 87m government programme to be implemented immediately and promising signs of international cooperation (such as the recent fisheries agreement with Argentina) cannot change this.

Japan, the world's greatest fish consumer, fears direct negative effects on the agricultural market due to reduced fish supplies. As with some agricultural produce in the EEC, Japan's government fixes the price of rice. Attracted by these guaranteed minimum prices, more and more farmers have specialised in growing rice regardless of the risks of overproduction.

But since the Japanese traditionally eat rice in combination with fish, Tokyo policy makers fear that reduced catches (in 1977 they accounted for more than 15 per cent of the 70m tons global total) will lead to an uncontrollable increase of rice surpluses.

It was thus a Japanese idea to introduce a licensing system for fishing off the shores of other countries. They developed a model by which developing countries willing to make concessions on licensing fees receive considerable financial and technical aid for the development of their own fisheries.

But this very model reduced the Third World's willingness to issue licences. The developing countries fear that this would again make them financially and materially dependent on the industrialised nations — a dependence they are trying to overcome by means of exclusive economic zones.

The FAO has now seized the initiative in this conflict. "Fish," it argues, "is a necessity and not luxury food for the rich. The promotion of fisheries does not serve to make the menus of expensive restaurants even more sophisticated. Instead, it provides work and helps overcome famine."

In keeping with this declaration of principles, the FAO has evolved a $35m programme to help Third World countries develop fishing industries that will enable them to make best use of their economic zones.

First phase of the new FAO programme is to help individual countries formulate their development aims and strategies and introduce the necessary legislation governing the new economic zones, as well as to help them establish the extent of the actual fish stocks in their waters.

The project is to be financed from a special fund, and the FAO has called on the member nations to contribute. So far, only Norway has pledged $3.6m.

Another $13m is to come from the UN Development Programme (UNDP). Bonn is still hesitating about becoming actively involved that is, committing funds.

Some optimists, some sceptics

The assessment of the project in the Third World ranges from cautious optimism to scepticism. The final decision is to be made at the FAO General Assembly in November.

The scepticism is not so much due to this help being unwelcome but to the apprehension that exclusive economic zones and their exploitation is only a step towards a new international economic order in which the developing nations would be equal partners of the industrialised world.

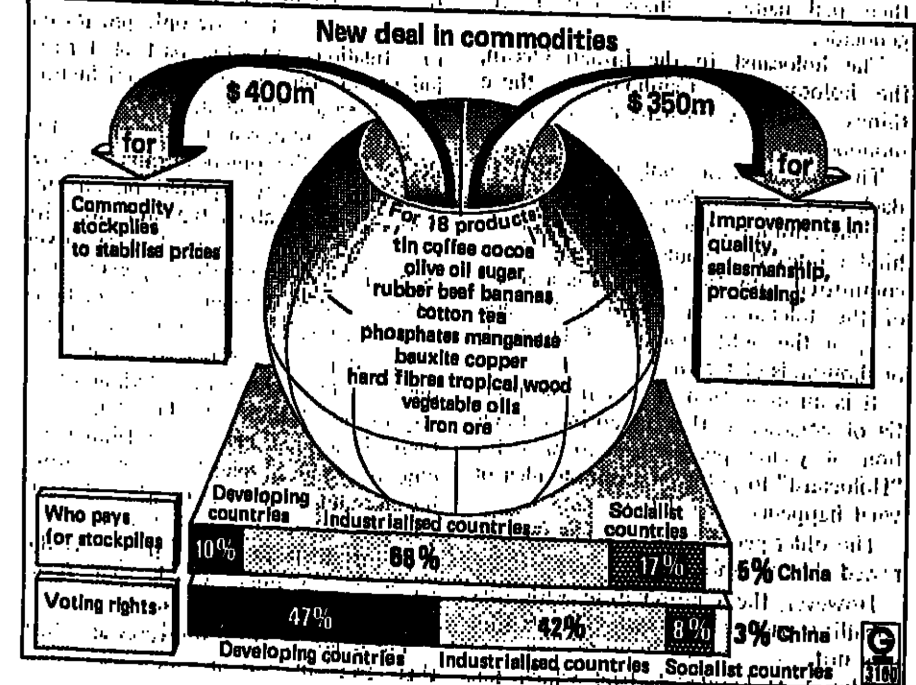
But since the industrialised nations have shown little inclination to share their economic and political power with the have-nots, the Group of 77 suspects that concessions concerning economic zones and the offer of assistance for the development of fishing industries is a token gesture with which to obtain far-reaching concessions from the developing nations.

It is now up to the industrialised world to disprove this assumption.

Johannes von Dohnanyi

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 11 November 1979)

North-South wrangle over raw materials continues



Only three years ago "Common Fund" was the magic term in the developing world's tug-of-war with the industrialised nations over raw materials.

Meanwhile, the Fund for the financing of buffer stocks with which to stabilise export earnings "on a just level" from 18 selected raw materials has lost much of its magic.

The South accuses the North of delaying tactics and of lacking the political will to realise the resolutions on an integrated raw materials programme reached at Unctad IV in 1976 and Unctad V in 1979.

Bonn of all places (it has from the very beginning adamantly opposed centrally planned commodity markets) now feels that it has been unjustly accused by the Third World.

According to the Bonn Ministry of Economic Affairs, agreements already exist for seven of the 18 commodities of the integrated raw materials programme, i.e. coffee, cocoa, tin, olive oil, sugar, rubber and beef.

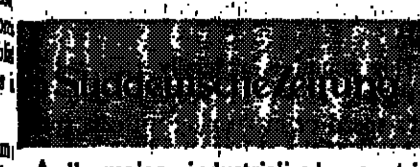
In the case of three other commodities, no progress is being made because the producer countries have been unable to agree on tea, bananas and cotton.

So far as the phosphates, manganese

Continued on page 7

WORLD ECONOMY

Growth, balances of payments put in jeopardy



All major industrialised countries, with the exception of Japan and the Federal Republic of Germany have two-digit inflation rates.

The success of the fight against rekindled inflation through restrictive monetary policy and the second major tide of oil price increases will determine economic development in the next two years.

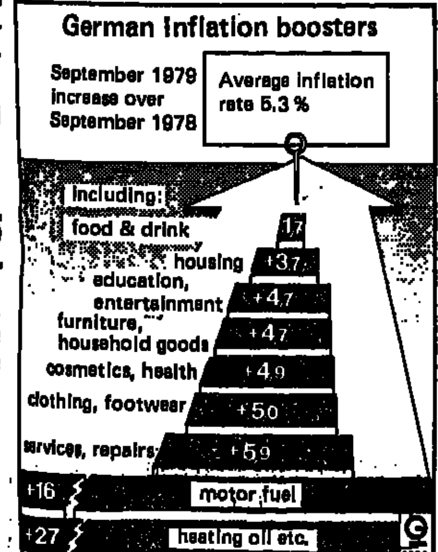
Even the 1973 oil shock was followed by two years of recession on a worldwide scale.

There is evidently a widespread belief that we shall better be able to cope now because the 1973 increases tripled the price of oil while this year saw increases of "only" 60 to 70 per cent.

This is a fallacy. In absolute terms, i.e. in dollar amounts, this year's oil price increases are at least the same as those of 1973 because they are based on a very much higher starting level.

To make matters worse, the recycling of the cash paid for oil will be much slower and less smooth than following the 1973 crisis.

A main reason is that many of the countries whose balance of payments deficits are reaching critical proportions will no longer be able to bridge the gap with Eurocredits because they are so deep in debt that they are no longer credit-worthy.



Opec prices rose by about 60 per cent in the first half of this year and they continue to go up. To make matters worse, some of the oil producers have announced cuts in output.

The question is: are the authorities concerned aware of the destructive consequences of this drastic interference in the equilibrium of world trade and international settlements?

The IMF anticipates a deterioration in the balance of payments of industrialised countries by $23bn this year. The enormous deficit of the non oil producing developing countries (Nopec) is likely to rise from $31bn to $43bn.

But apart from the massive effects of price increases there is also a possibility of cutbacks in the supply of oil.

The economy of the Federal Republic of Germany is still flourishing. But all observers are agreed that the growth rate will be halved next year — or diminish even further.

By mid-1980, the order books of industry and the construction business and current export deals as well as long-term investment programmes will keep the general business activity at a high level.

But from then on business will decline. According to the notoriously sceptical Institute for the World Economy, in Kiel, a recession is likely towards the end of next year. This means that the GNP will diminish.

Most economic research institutes were relatively optimistic in their autumn forecast, anticipating a 2.5 per cent growth in real terms as an annual average for 1980.

But this is an average, which means that the decline towards the end of that year will be tantamount to near stagnation.

The influx of orders for our industry is deceptive due to the cost increase of industrial production by 6.2 per cent.

Deducting price increases, the real volume of incoming orders for September 1979 was 4.3 per cent lower than in September 1978.

The most important locomotive of the economy will be the investment activity of business. The Bundesbank considers it likely that the volume of investments for plant and equipment (in real terms) in 1980 will go up another 8 per cent.

Slower German economic growth in 1980
as forecast by major economic research institutes
Economic growth in %: 1977 +2.6, 1978 +3.5, 1979 +4, 1980 +2.5
Inflation in %: 1977 +3.9, 1978 +2.6, 1979 +4.5, 1980 +4.5
Unemployment: 1977 1.03 Mio, 1978 993 000, 1979 880 000, 1980 900 000
Earnings after tax per employed person: 1977 +5.6, 1978 +6.2, 1979 +6, 1980 +5
Profits after tax and unearned income: 1977 −0.3, 1978 +13.4, 1979 +10.5, 1980 +7
3309

But this forecast only applies if the forthcoming wage deals show moderation.

In mechanical engineering, a key industry where investments are concerned, there are as yet no signs of diminishing domestic orders and hence investment fatigue.

The economic development next year will largely be determined by the extent to which investments will be able to offset the negative effects of a waning upswing and uncertain sales prospects at home and abroad.

If profits were to deteriorate due to costs, the consequences could be unfortunate.

A major element in this year's economic development was the restocking of supplies to the tune of some DM15bn, which boosted general demand.

This will change next year. Anticipating rising prices and increased production, businessmen made advance purchases which must obviously lead to reduced demand next year. The whole thing can be summed up as "stock cycle fluctuations".

This affects primarily products tied to oil and energy costs, though branches of business that depend heavily on raw materials will also be affected by high commodity prices.

Another major negative element next year will be the anticipated listlessness of consumers: 1980 will be ushered in with an inflation rate of 5.5 per cent, meaning that the consumer's buying power in real terms will not produce any growth impulses.

Large parts of next year's available income have already been spent on housing, automobile purchases on the never-never and other purchases in anticipation of rising prices.

The situation is further aggravated by higher heating costs and an above-average increase of operating costs for motor vehicles.

Moreoever, labour shortage (both skilled and unskilled) has forced business to pay wages above those agreed in collective bargaining, but this increase in buying power is unlikely to recur next year.

The retail trade's purchasing prices have risen so steeply that there is every likelihood of further consumer price increases.

Consumers are thus unlikely to provide any economic boost in 1980. Retail sales in real terms are likely to stagnate next year. This year, they rose by 2.3 per cent in the first three quarters.

Our balance of payments has deteriorated considerably. The nominal trade surplus will not be enough in the second half of this year to offset rising deficits in the service sector and in transfers.

As a result, our balance of payments will be in the red in the second half of the year as well, predicts the German Institute for Economic Research.

The rule of thumb so far has always been that German exports outperform forecasts.

Though world trade is likely to suffer due to the oil problems, our competitiveness will remain good because prices abroad are rising faster than at home and because our range of goods is exactly what is wanted on world markets.

Even so, our position is likely to deteriorate on West European markets, which have always been particularly important to us.

The media are confident that we need not fear a depression like that of the 30s because we have learned from the mistakes of the past.

It says our economic theories have greatly improved and we can rely on an international crisis management.

But notwithstanding all optimism, there is a warning that should not go unheeded. Guido Brunner, member of the EEC Commission, recently said: "If we don't succeed in overcoming the paralysing tendencies due to the energy situation, we shall slither into a recession such as the world has never before experienced."

Walter Slotosch

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 10 November 1979)

Continued from page 6

and bauxite countries are concerned, Bonn suspects that there is little interest in an agreement.

In the case of markets for vegetable oil, it had been agreed from the very beginning that this should be settled by other measures such as marketing and improved processing rather than through an agreement.

These "other measures", to be financed by the Common Fund, have also been the only (inadequate) results of negotiations on raw materials agreements for chipboard, tropical timber, iron ore and jute. Here, the producer countries have not yet been able to push through their demands for price stabilisation measures.

Bonn admits to a genuine breakdown of negotiations only in the case of copper.

The envisaged outhority to be granted to a "copper forum" to regulate the market went too far for the buyer countries while the copper producers (primarily Peru) felt that it did not go far enough.

Bonn considers the stockpiling cost of US$4bn for two million tons of copper as a means of price stabilisation excessive because only 40 per cent would benefit the developing countries, the rest helping industrialised nations, especially the East Bloc.

The Germans therefore feel that the overall balance sheet of the raw materials talks is not bad at all, except for copper.

Bonn feels that the criticism of the developing countries is due to a misunderstanding inasmuch as they view the aims of the integrated raw materials programme as having failed in all cases where negotiations have not led to an agreement on buffer stocks.

But this is due to a misinterpretation of Unctad resolutions which have always been opposed by Bonn.

Germany considers buffer stocks as only one of many possibilities with which to achieve the aims of the integrated raw materials programme.

Bonn refuses to view the fact that certain supplier and buyer nations prefer measures other than intervention through buffer stocks as a failure.

Rolf-Dietrich Schwartz

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 7 November 1979)

■ WILDLIFE

When the bat turned off its radar and was let down by the automatic pilot

Some species of moth, like the bats that eat them, emit sonic beams that scientists used to suppose must serve the purpose of jamming the bat's radar.

In fact there is scant likelihood of the bat's ingenious system of finding its way around being jammed by interference of any kind.

What used to be rated jamming signals are in fact information code signals designed to tell the bat on its hunt for prey that the moths on its "radar screen" are inedible.

Whether they are inedible or not is another matter. The moth can hardly be blamed for signalling to its pursuer: "Don't eat me, I taste nasty."

Some moths are simply even more ingenious than the fabled bat, whose powers of hearing are much more sensitive than those of visually-orientated Man.

The bat's radar is so efficient it would knock Man-made radar systems into a cocked hat despite a bat's brain being less than half the size of a thimble.

This comparison was made by Professor Hans-Ulrich Schnitzler, Marburg, at a conference of physicists in Ulm where he read a paper on the physics of the bat's faculty of hearing.

And the bat, of which there are more than 800 species around the world, certainly leads a charmed and fascinating night life.



Specialised knowledge is not necessary to appreciate the sophistication of the echo-finding technique employed by the proverbially blind bat to find its way around in the dark.

Signals must obviously be short if the bat is to work out in time how far away a cave wall is. Also, the whistle of a passing train, although monotonous, audibly differs in pitch, so claims that the train's speed can be deduced from the whistle seem reasonable enough.

Besides, direction-finding is clearly aided by reception of auditory signals in both ears. But deduction of further information from the nature of a sound surpasses human understanding.

These various talents may not be combined to perfection in any one biological location-finding system, but the bat is ideally suited for its environment.

Bats not only have phenomenal powers of perception, they also have extraordinary memories, relying on an automatic pilot in territory with which they are familiar.

The automatic pilot is often switched on after only ten echoes. This is why bats flying by automatic pilot occasionally collide with new and unexpected obstacles.

Do they overrate their own powers of perception and orientation? Scientists have yet to decide.

Sad to say, bats have a bad reputation because some of them are bloodsuckers ("vampires"). But others collect nectar, eat fruit, hunt fish and, the majority, insects.

They vary in size from thumb joint to jumbo, and each has its own specially adapted radar, although the basic principle remains essentially the same.

Professor Schnitzler cited as an example of how efficient the bat's radar is the small brown bat, which lives in North America.

It spots one insect every three seconds on average, and catches one in two, the procedure taking less than half a second.

In laboratory trials it has proved surprisingly successful at distinguishing between worms and plastic discs catapulted into the air.

The discs reflect the bat's radar signals in much the same way as the worms do, but bats can tell the difference from the sound.

They can also "hear" wires that span their flight path even though the wires may only be 50 micrometres in diameter, or the size of a human hair.

Scientists have shown that a brown bat can estimate distances within one to three millimetres and directions to within five degrees.

The horseshoe bat has evolved an even more ingenious way of distinguishing objects ahead. They emit a continuous sound much like that of a passing train.

This sound is naturally reflected by obstacles, either in keeping with the bat's speed or in keeping with its own and that of the object ahead.

And the horseshoe bat can work out distances and speeds from the differences in pitch, again in much the same way as the example of the passing train.

The bat's reception frequency is a steady 83 kilohertz, but within this range its powers of distinction are extraordinary, with regard to both pitch and volume.

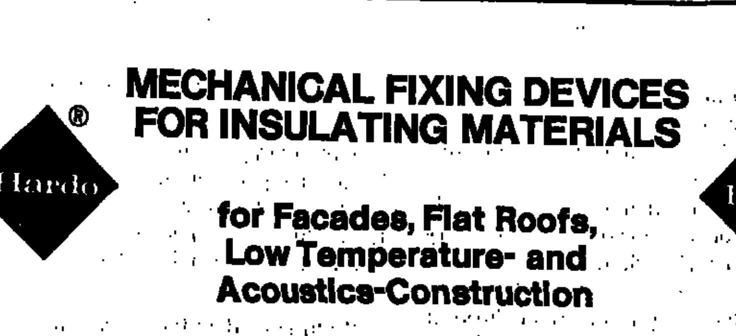
This standard echo-finding tone, the 83 kilohertz waveband, corresponds in many ways to the radio frequency function. Frequency and amplitude modulation relay radio programmes to human listeners; at 83 kilohertz they relay details of insects and other prey to the horseshoe bat.

In effect, the bat can hear its prey's wingbeat, and trials have shown that horseshoe bats do indeed only hunt insects that are beating their wings.

Insects in the process of flying off are, incidentally, not pursued (and probably not registered). The horseshoe bat is specially programmed to strike at promising prey and not waste time on wild goose chases of the figurative kind.

Rolf H. Simen

(Der Tagesspiegel, 3 November 1979)



■ MOTORING

Hunt steps up for an alternative fuel

Industrialised countries are all on the lookout for a suitable alternative to increasingly scarce petroleum as a motor fuel.

Electric traction is on trial. So are alcohol-based fuels. But the best bet is hydrogen, which can be generated by harnessing solar energy.

It is an ideal fuel that can be produced in unlimited quantities without making as much as a dent in the Earth's finite reserves of raw materials.

In a highly developed industrial country such as West Germany the motor vehicle is an indispensable means of transport, and it only accounts for 17 per cent of primary energy consumption.

Yet it serves as a scapegoat for failure to adopt appropriate energy policies even though the life-span of oil reserves at present consumption was a well-known fact before 1973 or the overthrow of the Shah in Iran.

Politicians and planners have long known that world petroleum reserves will only last another 25 year or so at the present rate of output.

One alternative is the battery-run car, ecologically A1 but a non-starter in large-scale use. Its battery can at best make use of 70 cent of the primary energy from which its electric power is generated.

Electric power may be no burden on the environment, but the primary energy on which it is based is, albeit less so than direct combustion in the car engine.

But energy is lost in charging the battery, and bulky, heavy batteries are strictly limited in the distance they enable the vehicle to travel.

Methanol and ethanol are also high-flyers as current prospects to stand substitute for oilbased fuels. Both are alcohol and can be classified as fuels derived from the biomass.

That both could be used as motor fuels was known before the First World War. Oil-based motor fuels as available until the early-30s had so low an octane count that racing drivers had to use an alcohol admixture.

But it is only fair to say that in those days the effect of alcohol on engines was not as well-researched as it is now.

Besides, the materials currently used in fuel pipes, fuel pump valves and gaskets may be petrol-resistant but they are not necessarily alcohol-resistant. Volkswagen and Daimler-Benz are probing the possibility of using alcohol and mixtures as motor fuels, but mainly because alcohol will be used to stop pinking once lead is completely banned as an environmental hazard.



Navigation aid for the driver: dashboard screen plus (insets) bumper aerial and computer (Photo: Blaupunkt)

Internal combustion and diesel engines can undeniably be run on alcohol, but no-one can yet say where the amount of alcohol needed needed might possibly come from.

Hydrogen is another much-vaunted alternative fuel, but current domestic output is fully utilised by industry and is expensive to manufacture too.

Hydrogen, it is hoped, may be manufactured inexpensively using process heat from high-temperature reactors, but the high-temperature reactor is not yet available in a commercially viable size.

Hydrogen is a tough customer to handle. Research at Daimler-Benz has shown it can be controlled for use as a motor fuel, but the wherewithal does not make it an ideal fuel.

Liquid hydrogen tanks would need to be pressurised and heavy (even heavier for safety reasons, given the explosion risk).

The Institute of Physical Engineering nonetheless recently unveiled a BMW 518 converted to use hydrogen as a fuel. The prototype includes a steel tank storing 120 litres of liquid hydrogen at -250°C.

This corresponds to about 40 litres, or 10 gallons, of conventional fuel and is claimed to be enough to cover a distance of between 500 and 700 km (312 and 437 miles).

The Stuttgart institute has also developed a fuelling device. Hydrogen can be taken from the tank as either a gas or a liquid. It is heated by an integrated heat exchanger in the tank.

Institute staff are convinced hydrogen will prove the alternative fuel of the future.

Motor manufacturers are less sanguine. Their research divisions are concentrating on storing hydrogen in metal as metallic hydrides.

Most of the hydrogen stored in this way can be released from its metal compound by heating and used, after conversion, as a motor fuel.

Heat to start the process needs to be generated in the garage from one's own domestic heating system, otherwise the car will not start in the morning.

In practice a small additional petrol tank will be needed for starters. Once the engine is running, process heat from the exhaust can be used to extract the hydrogen.

It is a feasible option, but hardly the ideal solution. Tanks are heavy, fuel depots difficult to install and inexpensive hydrogen is is unlikely to be available for another 20 year or so.

Converting natural or synthetic gas into motor fuel is a possibility, but would be wasting energy. Gas is better used for domestic heating, making heating oil (or diesel fuel) available for motor vehicles.

Besides, Germany has sufficient reserves of coal to think in terms of hydration. At long last hydration works are under construction and will manufacture synthetic fuel.

It will be expensive for sure, but the high price of motor fuel is determined less by the cost at the oil well or the expense of synthesisation than by the enormous slice made up by tax on motor fuels.

Heinz Mostny

(Die Welt, 3 November 1979)

Tests start on dashboard computer link

Driving will be made easier in the Ruhr region for at least the next year for 400 motorists whose cars are equipped with Ali, an experimental dashboard computer link that falls little short of an automatic pilot.

The Ali system, which works independently of the conventional car radio, includes a dashboard terminal on which warnings of traffic jams, fog, black ice or other hazards flashes, accompanied by alternative route recommendations.

Bonn Research Minister Volker Hauff recently gave the go-ahead for practical trials of the computer-based system using the cars of 400 motorists chosen at random by Infratest, the market research organisation.

The dashboard device is linked via a car aerial and induction loops in the road surface with a central computer the driver notifies of his proposed destination before setting out on a journey.

En route the computer plies him with the latest information on traffic density and road conditions, if necessary recommending alternative routes.

Ali also warns the driver when he is too close for comfort to the vehicle ahead or when he is driving too fast. The system is in operation on about 100km of autobahn in the Ruhr.

A decision on whether to carry out further experiments with the dashboard computer link will depend on the results of the Ruhr field trials, to be evaluated at the end of next year.

Herr Hauff adds that a number of problems will need solving in the meantime, especially access to computer data for unauthorised persons.

Motorists who use Ali's services will not only dial their destination to the computer before setting out; the computer will also follow their every move en route.

This information could, in theory, be used against them in traffic offence proceedings. So the legal details need to be settled.

Besides, critics have suggested that a steady succession of symbols on the dashboard information panel may more of a distraction than a contribution to road safety.

In effect the system's proposed role will be to relieve traffic pressure on the autobahn network and reduce the number of accidents.

But the Transport Ministry does not envisage using it in other than built-up areas where roads already carry just about as much traffic as they can handle.

Herr Hauff says his Research Ministry plans to test other systems too and will then reach a decision on the device that is most suitable from the consumer's viewpoint.

Ali is manufactured by Blaupunkt and will cost the individual motorists an estimated DM300 once the system is mass-produced.

The overall cost of the system would be higher: DM700,000 per kilometre for conversion of the autobahn, electronic contact with vehicles being maintained by coils embedded in the road surface.

The Ruhr trials are to cost a total DM16m.

Walther Wuttke

(Die Welt, 8 November 1979)

Smokers 'more at risk' behind wheel

Smokers are more often involved in traffic accidents than non-smokers, claims Professor Ferdinand Schmidt, chairman of the ADAC medical panel on smoking and health.

In an article in the November issue of *Motorwelt*, the monthly magazine of Allgemeiner Deutscher Auto-Club (ADAC), the Munich motoring organisation, he says a handful of cigarettes can make the difference.

Creating a dangerous concentration of carbon monoxide and nicotine in the passenger compartment of a car, they can lead to accidents due to tiredness, poor concentration or impairment of vision or other powers of perception.

Nicotine may reduce blood pressure in the case of the occasional or non-habitual smoker, but in the regular smoker it accelerates the pulse rate, causes contraction of the blood vessels and increases the blood pressure.

The result is even greater pressure on a motorist who is subject to more than enough pressure as it is at the wheel of a vehicle.

Carbon monoxide, by contrast, has the same effect on both occasional and habitual smokers. It compounds with the red blood corpuscles 200 times faster than oxygen does.

So even a relatively low carbon monoxide count in the passenger compartment can result in the brain no longer being plied with enough oxygen.

Here too tiredness results at a faster rate than normal, causing poor concentration and lack of attention.

In one heavy smoker in four, says Wolf Müller-Limmroth, carbon monoxide-enriched air may even lead to symptoms of poisoning.

Professor Müller-Limmroth is head of labour physiology at Munich University of Technology and a member of the ADAC medical panel.

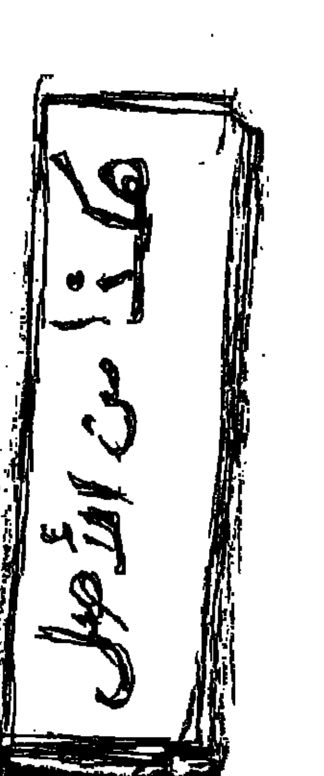
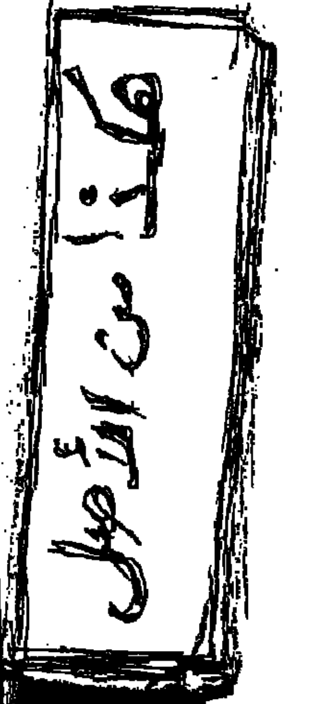
Among heavy smokers ten per cent of red blood corpuscles are so overladen with carbon monoxide that they play no further part in relaying oxygen round the body.

In other words, smoking can cause carbon monoxide poisoning, the symptoms of which are headaches, dizziness and sickness.

Smoking and driving entails a further risk over and above the health factor. The insurance will not pay a penny if an accident occurs because a motorist's attention was distracted because he was trying to pick up a lighted cigarette from the floor.

Professor Müller-Limmroth says even lighting a cigarette or docking cigarette ash is a risk if untertaken in conjunction with the need to keep an eye on traffic.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 10 November 1979)

■ CULTURE

Dazzling lecture analysing a decline sets the high tone at seminar

The four-day Nuremberg talks on the state of German culture and society ended on a 'high' note with a brilliant analysis by Hans Mayer of the decline of German culture.

Before that there had been a definite gap between the quality of the seminar work, which was high, and that of the evening events for a more general public.

Mayer, an emeritus professor of literature and the second oldest participant in the talks after Eugen Kogon, produced a dazzling lecture which more than made up for the greyness of some of the evening contributions in the Nuremberg Meistersinger Hall.

As part of a general attempt to place modern German society historically, Mayer produced a strong attack on what he called the conformist, middle-class white collar culture as the dominant reality.

Mayer argued that four elements of once great cultural productivity were now used up, played out and annihilated.

1. Aristocratic culture, which made an important contribution to bourgeois enlightenment and civil rights, as in France.

2. Bourgeois culture, which up to 1914 was not restorative, but open to new trends and movements. Mayer said that the inflation of the early 1920s killed this class off financially.

"Afterwards a bourgeois class without knowledge or reverence emerged as the gainers from war and defeat. The world of the Thyssen and Stinnes was there."

3. Jewish intellectuals. Mayer said: "In March 1979 there was a conference at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem to mark the 100th anniversary of Albert Einstein's birth. Looking through the curriculum vitae of the scholars taking part, it was striking how many of them were born and bred in Germany. This is now finished."

4. Finally the culture of marxist, proletarian class consciousness.

Mayer was less concerned with making distinctions between these four elements than with showing that the main creative achievements of German culture were produced by *Neinsager*, those who rebelled against and rejected their culture, outsiders who were usually the children of obscure and humble parents.

"The son of the well-to-do Imperial Advisor Johann Kaspar Goethe in the Free City of Frankfurt is one of the few exceptions. For centuries our literature was produced by ministers and sons of ministers, rebellious theology students and by the private tutors of junkers.

"Even the Weimar round-table with Goethe and Wieland, Herder and Schiller was definitely bourgeois ... Heinrich Heine and Georg Büchner were wicked nay-sayers and they fouled their own nests."

According to Mayer, West Germany is a compact petty bourgeois system. It should be noted, of course, that there are very rich and very poor petty bourgeois. All historical experience had shown that the petty bourgeoisie was not a culturally productive class.



He said there was no social basis in this country for a powerful and legitimate counter-culture. The new counter-culture in his view is no more than the addition of individual solitudes. The great nay-sayers of the past had an impact on their societies and decorative structures because they had behind them a class which revolted against oppression and found itself in the work of the cultural opposition.

Hans Mayer spoke sarcastically of the modern interpretation of culture as a leisure-time activity ("culture as a hobby" because the serious business of life was earning money) and without irony he quoted the verse by Goethe: "What you inherited from your fathers, earn it in order to possess it!"

Mayer's talk ended not with resignation but with an energetic call for resistance to further destruction of our cultural heritage — against the quantification of culture, against hobby-culture, against the dichotomy between the allegedly serious business of earning money and culture as superfluous cultural frills. Mayer was loudly applauded for his talk.

The second of the four evening events at the Nuremberg talks was highly embarrassing. The organisers (the culture department led by Hermann Glaser) had announced that there would be a discussion of the effects of the German past on the present.

About 600 people turned up, expecting to learn something about this. A number of key dates had been singled out: 1813, 1848, 1918, 1945. Lutz Niethammer of Essen University gave an interesting introductory talk.

"None of these dates in German history marks an unbroken tradition. They all leave us with mixed feelings: memories of failure, hopes shattered, problematic victories."

Niethammer does not find it regrettable that our pupils, unlike those in the USA or France, do not have presented to them a national historical images whose contours become more and more questionable the more closely they are examined.

He said that a social-historical determination of our origins was more important than national historiography in finding our position.

This talk was meant to be the basis for a panel discussion. Here the control of events slipped from the organisers into the hands of TV people, a process in which the organisers were not blameless.

Because a half-hour lecture is not considered presentable in TV terms, the chairmaster ignored it in the subse[quent] discussion.

Why was this? Of course the c[ity of] Nuremberg is interested in having [the] talks, which boost its cultural ima[ge, te]levised. For this reason, and becau[se Ba]varian TV contributed DM4,000 (... covers about 12 per cent of the ... they not only allowed the prog[ramme] directors to choose the chairmaste[r (who] proved unable to cope) but also ... a say in who took part in the disc[ussion] panel.

Hellmut Diwald, Nikolaus Lobk[owicz] and Peter Graf Kielmannsegg ow[ed their] inclusion on the panel to this fact ... thias Walden was also invited but ... not come.

The catastrophe started when ... master Udo Reiter asked former p[rofes]sor of politics Ossip K. Flechthe[im to] speak. He turned to the camera and ... that he was a former resistance ... with "the courage to say that the Fe[deral] Republic of Germany is on the w[ay to] becoming an atomic, army and p[olice] state."

From then on chairmaster Reiter ... mainly concerned with smoothing ... this eclat with the discussion ... given him as a phalanx, in which ... objective, forthright Kielmannsegg ... outstanding. There was no further ... cussion of the key dates in German ... tory.

The discussion on "Tunix — ... dencies in Youth Culture" took a si[milar] course the next day. Robert Jungk ... happy to use even the most banal ... ments to please the young audience ... against Kurt Sontheimer who ... found himself forced into the role ... the conservative warner — for which ... was laughed at. *Peter Diehl-Thiel*

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 6 November 19[79])

Investigating a national identity

Academics and journalists met under the auspices of the Carl Siemens Foundation in Munich recently to discuss "The German Neurosis — The Germans' Battered Identity."

Seven professors, including political scientist Hans Joachim Arndt, psychologist Peter Hofstätter and theologian Helmut Thielicke, plus TV journalist and editor of the magazine *Capital* Johannes Gross, discussed the many aspects of this thought-provoking subject. Chairmaster was Peter Lerche, Professor of Public Law at Munich University.

Of course there was an objection to the subject under discussion itself. Osnabrück sociologist Robert Hepp, who was born in 1938, rejected the concept of neurosis for his generation and pointed to the phenomenon that a new elite is formed every 15 to 20 years in Germany.

So what is there to identify with reliably and permanently? Despite this most of the speakers accepted the notion of the German neurosis and "the disturbed identity of the Germans" as facts.

Has the discrepancy between reality and behaviour and between the incompatibility of the idea and actuality not long been a specific aspect of the German mentality?

If one takes the figures with which the Germans most strongly identify in Western culture — Siegfried, Hamlet, Faust, the Prince of Homburg — we find that they all suffer from the same indecisiveness, they are failures with bad consciences, full of self-pity — unlike French, and Spanish identification figures such as El Cid, Don Juan, and Joan of Arc.

Hamburg sociologist Peter Hofstätter found evidence of the German flight from reality in the Tegernsee Antichrist Play and in Sebastian Brant's "Ship of Fools."

He analysed the German approach to reality in terms of the comparison between the Archangel Michael as the committed champion of the Good and the German Michael with his pointed cap — a figure of self-pity and failure.

Depending on the situation — prestige or embarrassment —, the German could identify with one of these two figures.

Further tensions in the Germans' view of themselves came to light when Osnabrück sociologist Robert Hepp found that the Germans, more than any other nation, tended to have a new ideal every 15 years.

Heidelberg political scientist Hans Joachim Arndt analysed the sometimes disastrous German double role of being the defeated and the liberated at the same time.

He quoted the British weekly magazine *The Economist*, which described the Federal Republic of Germany as "an economy in search of a nation."

Dieter Blumenwitz, professor of law at Würzburg University, described the role of the two Germanies — each the showpiece of its system: the bad conscience from the Hitler era had meant that the two parts of the former Reich had b[e]come so attached to the one or other [of] the two world powers as to lose th[eir] freedom.

With typical cool and humorous ... Johannes Gross analysed the major ... cial categories, from politics to ... church, from the intelligentsia to ... trade unions, mercilessly pinpointing ... misinterpretations of reality typical [of] each group.

Herr Gross accused the parties [of] trying to reform too much, the Ch[urches] of conformity with the State, the uni[ons] of always asking for more and the int[el]lectuals, especially in the media ... moralism "which is easier than real po[]litical thinking and action."

Gross summed up his analysis of co[n]temporary Germany thus: "The Fe[deral] Republic of Germany is a country ... bad mood — but its individual citi[zens] live happy and contented" — a ... which Hofstätter confirmed, ha[ving] found in a poll that the people of ... country have a high happiness coe[ffi]cient.

The discussion round was m[ainly] concerned with traditionally-orient[ed] conservative tendencies. It had truth ... offer for conservatives and progress[ives] alike.

Recognising the German neurosis ... the first step towards doing someth[ing] about it. One thing is sure: with ... ivory tower mentality on the one ha[nd] and a fatalistic approach on the oth[er] we are never going to escape the Ar[ch]angel Michael-German Michael sy[n]drome. *Klaus Colberg*

(Der Tagesspiegel, 1 November 197[9])

■ THE ARTS

Heavenly trouble for man who tries to leave during Brahms piece

Pictures of Mao and Hua, Stalin and Lenin, Marx and Engels adorn the Square of Heavenly peace. The square does justice to its name.

First orchestra rehearsal in what is normally a volleyball hall; parquet floor; seats arranged as in an amphitheatre; tip-up, wooden chairs for 5,700 people. A vaulted glass roof with an iron skeleton, reminiscent of a Paris railway station.

Herbert von Karajan strolls through the hall, tests the acoustics; the orchestra is playing alone. He seems satisfied, goes to the conductor's desk, picks up the baton.

He breaks off after the first movement. "Interpreter!" No one reacts. "Interpreter!" For the first time on this journey Karajan raises his voice.

Frau Hu, whose husband has just accompanied Hua on his European trip tour, rushes into the arena.

"Tell them to sit still." Karajan points with his baton to masses of people all dressed in blue, all talking to one another, and all moving about.

Tell them to sit still or go out." The translation takes five minutes. Comprehension takes another to. Then Krajan continues conducting.

A worker in blue walks blithely into the arena, looks for a favourable camera position and takes a shot. Karajan goes on conducting with his left hand and whistles on two fingers of his right: a shrill whistle. The Chinese, scared to death, disappears and is not seen again.

After the rehearsal, a discussion. Nothing is going right. The lights aren't working properly, the agreements about TV coverage are vague, interpreting and understanding takes time, time, time. A collision between Karajan's perfectionism and Chinese fatalism seems inevitable.

"What is happening with the light? Doctor, where is the doctor?" Director Girth hurries to the scene. "The final concert is being broadcast. The other two will be trial runs. I have to see the technical quality before we broadcast. Can you guarantee me that?"

"That's what's been agreed."

"Have you got it in writing?"

"In China you don't get anything in writing, that's impossible."

This bitter fruit of Chinese experience comes from the cultural attaché. Karajan ignores her.

The light comes on, illuminating the orchestra podium brightly.

"So there you are. This is the lighting I want." Karajan goes.

In the evening there is a reception given by the Deputy Arts Minister. It is one of ten given for the "Esteemed head of delegation von Karajan" and his orchestra.

The loudspeakers produce and mixture of Viennese waltzes and typical Chinese music. It accompanies us through the Forbidden City, the Summer Temple and the Heavenly Temple. At last it stops.

Eight young students from the Conservatorium for the Cultivation of ancient Chinese music are now on the stage. They are playing on ancient Chinese instruments, distant cousins of the violin, flute, clarinet, cello and bass. There is even a kind of trumpet and xylophone and a set of bag-pipes. The pieces they play have poetic titles and sound poetic, too: "An old Chinese tapestry", "The moon reflected in the still water."

At last this strangeness is no longer aggressive. The tension since our arrival, the wind, the dust which takes your breath away, the dirty hotel, the cockroaches, this indescribably harmonious music disperses it all. A girl straight out of a Chinese rolled picture holds the pipa, the two-stringed violin, in her arm, the bow moves with virtuosity over the two strings, stroking them, it attacks, the fingers pluck the strings, aggressively, possessively.

Karajan listens attentively. He finds himself again in this music. Now he has solid ground under his feet and he begins to love this country.

The Philharmonica musicians try out the Chinese instruments, at first hesitantly, then getting faster: a solo suite after Bach, Beethoven. The Chinese listen, rapt.

The first concert: Mozart, E flat major and Brahms' 1. It starts at 19.30. The hall slowly fills with people dressed in blue and in green. Those in green are military. Those in blue have come from work, on foot, by bike, tired and dusty.

Some of them travelled two days for this concert. Those who didn't get tickets from work queued for hours. The most expensive tickets cost a yuan. The monthly wage of a worker is 50 yuan; a schoolteacher earns somewhat less, our interpreter earns 60 yuan. Four people can live on two monthly wages.

Five minutes before the start the minister still has not arrived. A long table with a snow white tablecloth in the V.I.P's box. On the table are teacups, Chinese porcelain, flower pattern. ...

A female voice keeps saying over the loudspeaker: "Please remain quiet during the concert; do not walk around and do not talk."

At 19.40 Mozart's E flat major starts and Brahms' 1 follows without a pause. To protect the parquet floor from the ends of the celli and bass the Chinese have put down the red carpet they failed to produce at the airport.

The 5,700 listen intently. A few lucky ones have cassette recorders tape recorders and record the concert with two microphones. A worker in a blue jacket wants to leave during the second Brahms movement but the usherette will not let him out. The man protests.

Another from a nearby row hits him on the head and then sits down. The victim of the blow insists on going out and finally gets his way. Chinese can be individualists.

The applause is frenzied. Karajan takes a bow. So does the orchestra, three times. Then conductor and orchestra take their leave.

An enormous flower arrangement wobbles its way into the arena and is set down. A tiny grey-haired official looks with a puzzled frown at the empty stage.

The flower arrangement is up there on its own. He too takes his leave. The floral tribute was from the No. 7 Deputy Arts Ministers.

On a visit to the Forbidden City what I

Continued on page 14

A case of privilege for Beuys the egalitarian?

West German avant-garde artist Joseph Beuys is in New York for an exhibition of his work at the Guggenheim Museum.

One of Beuys' artistic principles is that "privileges of all kinds are an intolerable crime against the democratic principle of equality."

In that case, he ought never to have agreed to the showing of his work at the Guggenheim museum.

One visitor to the exhibition looked at an apparently hasty sketch, thought of his own work and asked why he had never been allowed to exhibit his work here. He considered himself underprivileged.

Beuys, conspicuously modest in his felt hat, waistcoat and jeans, would probably have had an answer although the question was not entirely serious.

Beuys set the Americans a few problems with his exhibition, which is divided into 24 sections. But on the opening day he was at the disposal of autograph hunters and questioners.

He said he felt he was better understood in America than in Germany Since his lecture tour in the US in 1971 his ideas were better known in the USA and his work was thus easier to understand.

Nonetheless, one critic reckoned that many visitors would regard some objects as a joke — for example the rubbish baked in fat or the child's bath — covered with sticking plaster: "A European put on aimed at finding out how much the American public is prepared to put up with."

However, it is nothing of the kind. On the contrary, Beuys has much in common with the Americans in his view of art as a medium. He wants to free art from its ghetto, its isolation, take it out of its academic framework and bring it closer to the creative in people.

Every human being is an artist and art must be able to give people an orientation in their creativity — to rediscover things and the power within them.

Beuys comes very close to the American view of art. What is generally called "genuine American art" was never in a ghetto, it has the vitality of an often rough and crude culture, unattenuated by over-refined taste, reflecting life the raw.

From this angle, the shock effect of Beuys' art in the USA ought to be less if the theory that the American is more in tune with his creative capacities is true.



Beuys at the Guggenheim Museum, New York (Photo: Ute Clophaus)

However, another kind of American reaction to Beuys' work is also conceivable: amazement at what comes to the surface from under so many strange layers, the images of creative basic truths slumbering just under the surface in this country.

Finally, even the American expects to find "art" in a museum. What he is presented with here — fat, honey, dough, felt, copper, batteries, aggregates — has up to now had little in common with art.

It is frequently unprepossessing, is not self-explanatory here. Some of the sections are just randomly ordered elements of previous actions.

The fact that Beuys' entire work contains autobiographical elements which the unitiated do not know makes access to it more difficult. The individual objects are often the tip of an iceberg, the final representation of a chain of thoughts, an experience — and they can only be understood with this background.

For this reason, Caronine Tisdall, curator of the Guggenheim museum, has produced a catologue going far beyond the limits of most. It helps greatly in understanding Beuys' motivations and intentions.

Beuys, who regards art as a consciousness-changing force, demands commitment from his fellows and hard work if they are to participate in his mysterious insights.

The ways to this goal are like labyrinths. But in Beuys' own words: "Chaos can have a curative effect ..."

Gisela Kramer

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 6 November 1979)

■ HEALTH

Hard drugs take bigger toll – and so do alcohol, tobacco and pills

Never before has Germany been flooded with such huge quantities of drugs. And never has it been so easy to buy heroin.

More and more addicts are dying. There were 464 heroin deaths in Germany in the first nine months of this year — and before year's end another 150 are likely.

There were 418 heroin deaths last year.

Drug addiction has spread to all social strata — but not always are these drugs heroin, cocaine and hashish and not all of them are sold in dark alleys and seamy bars.

They are sold in broad daylight and their makers and distributors achieve sales to the tune of billions. These other



drugs are tobacco, alcohol and pharmaceuticals.

Bonn Health Minister Antje Huber said last May that 140,000 Germans die every year from causes related to smoking.

According to Frau Huber, 1.5m Germans are acutely endangered by alcohol. Statistically, every German consumes an annual 12.3 litres of pure alcohol.

Germans have never consumed so much since statistics were first compiled, during the reign of Kaiser Wilhelm I.

These 12.3 litres of pure alcohol are accounted for by 150 litres of beer, seven litres of brandy and 24 litres of wine.

The cost is DM600 per head.

The danger does not lie in the occasional cigarette or drink. It lies in steady consumption. Smoking can lead to heart ailments and cause cancer.

The same goes for alcohol. Many habitual drinkers — and this includes those who have their two bottles of beer an evening — do not realise that they are already addicted.

About 1.8m Germans are being treated for alcohol abuse; 30 per cent are women and 10 per cent juveniles.

Each year 4,000 people die in accidents in which one of the parties involved has been drinking.

Some 5,000 German children are born every year who will later have to attend special schools because their parents drank. Their genes have been damaged.

"Alcohol is Germany's greatest problem in the field of social medicine," the Centre for Dangers of Addiction in Hamm recently warned.

But those who believe that this must result in restrictions on advertising alcoholic beverages are being unrealistic. After all, DM7 billion was collected in liquor tax last year.

And nobody protests that politicians, headed by Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, appear on television smoking cigarettes and thus set a bad example.

The use of pharmaceuticals has developed into a similar problem.

"13 per cent of Germans engage in uncontrolled consumption of pills. That is 5.7m people," Frau Huber recently warned.

A study shows that only 23 per cent manage to get through three months out of a year without taking pills.

Eight million Germans need their daily tranquillisers or sleeping pills. The annual cost of these is DM2bn a year. And the problem is that they can lead to addiction.

Mechthild Trautwein, for instance, swallowed her first pill at the age of 17. Her doctor prescribed three a day against headaches. Five years later, her liver was damaged, she kept seeing huge black spiders crawling over her body, and collapsed.

During that time, she had swallowed more than 40,000 tablets — in the final phase, 45 a day.

It is no secret that juveniles are increasingly resorting to certain painkillers and drugs having an effect on the mind as a means of escaping reality.

Though prescription regulations have been tightened, little has changed.

The main danger lies in the fact once these drugs fail to produce the desired effect despite increased dosage, heroin often becomes the next step.

Addiction to pharmaceuticals and narcotics has been growing steadily. In 1971, only one in nine addicts were addicted to pharmaceuticals, the others being addicted to dope or alcohol; today, it is one in four.

- They are becoming younger and younger. In 1969, the average age was 45; today it is 35. And 10 years ago one in six pharmaceuticals addicts was under 30; today it is one in four.
- More and more women now try to solve their problems with pills. Today only one in five alcoholics is a woman but every other woman is a pill addict.

Says a pharmacologist: "The problems are not solved, they are narcotised." *Peter Jentsch*

(Die Welt, 3 November 1979)

The wrong food – and too much of it

Half the German population eats too much — and wrongly — dieticians and doctors were told at a symposium in Wiesbaden.

Professor Dieter Hötzel said 41 per cent of men and 55 per cent of women in Germany were overweight. This can result in hypertension or diabetes.

Professor Reinhold Kluthe stressed the link between hypertension and excessive consumption of table salt. He appealed to manufacturers to indicate the salt content of foodstuffs, thus helping the consumer to control his intake.

Wrong preparation of meals leads to the loss of important nutrients. Chopping up food and blanching fruit and vegetables as well as long cooking in water could destroys many of the nutrients, Professor Erich Muskar told the conference. *dpa*

(Kieler Nachrichten, 8 November 1979)

Consumers not told enough about painkillers

Information sheets with non-prescriptive painkillers are often inadequate, says a study by the consumer magazine "Test".

Of the 20 drugs under review, 16 lacked important information, and the instructions were either full of superfluous information or unintelligible.

Even worse than the lack of such information as "take with much liquid" are tips which "Test" holds to be an invitation to abuse. Such advice, which was enclosed with five of the drugs under review, promised not only relief from pain but also help in cases of tiredness and listlessness.

Other promises are "invigorating effects" and "improve wellbeing and performance."

Though 16 of the 20 drugs reviewed contain the stimulant caffeine, the maximum quantity is 50 milligrams – the equivalent of a cup of coffee.

Six of the painkillers contain acetylsalicyl acid. But only one of them warns the user that asthma sufferers could be endangered by allergic reaction. Only two of the manufacturers point to the possibility of such a reaction. None of these drugs tell the users that acetylsalicyl acid — better known as aspirin — should not be used in conjunction with diabetes pills.

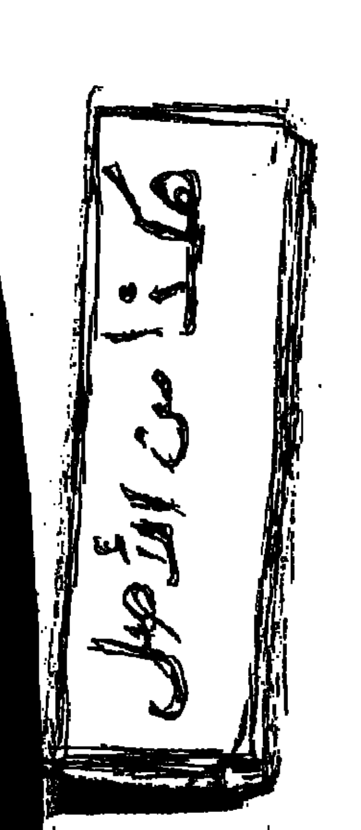
Parents wanting to administer drugs to their children are not always properly advised. Two of the drugs recommend a daily dosage of up to three tablets without differentiating between the ages of children.

Both these drugs contain paracetamol, which can cause liver damage in infants and which has caused poisoning in dosages of more than one gram.

Four of these pharmaceuticals do not distinguish between infants and children, only speaking of "children under three years."

But this is not all. One of the drugs, containing the controversial substance phenacetine, is sold without telling the user that it should not be taken by people with kidney disorders. *Reuter*

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 9 November 1979)



Worker sues to prevent his colleagues smoking

An office worker in Mannheim has gone to court in an effort to stop his colleagues from smoking. He says the smoke burns his eyes.

But the judges in the Federal Labour Relations Court in Kassel have been unable to arrive at a verdict.

The appellant rejected the argument of the works council which told him that, despite the smoke, the air in the office was still cleaner than that on the shop floor.

The possibility of installing an extractor over his desk, proposed in court, was rejected because the smokers in the office thought this would cause a draught.

It is not surprising that the judges were unable to find a solution. There is still no law protecting the non-smoker at his job although, according to official figures, 140,000 Germans a year die from the consequences of smoking.

And smoking includes the vicarious inhalation foisted on the non-smoker.

In an open letter to Bonn MPs, Professor Ferdinand Schmidt, head of the Research Department for Preventive



Oncology at Mannheim's clinical faculty, has again warned of this danger, saying "there are more than 40 substances causing cancer in tobacco smoke and more than a dozen substances that promote cancer. The largest part of these substance is not absorbed by the smoker himself but infiltrates the surrounding air, forcing non-smokers to inhale them."

Professor Schmidt said that the high concentration of nitrosamines in tobacco smoke was particularly dangerous.

Though an otherwise effective drug was recently withdrawn from the market because it contained tiny traces of nitrosamine, nothing is being done against tobacco smoke at work despite the fact that its nitrosamine content is thousands of times higher.

Tobacco smoke, said Professor Schmidt is by far the most important source of nirtrosamines in our environment.

The nitrosamine concentration to which non-smokers are exposed is up to fifty times higher than that inhaled by the smoker. As a result, the vicarious smoker can inhale quantities of it corresponding to 30 cigarettes an hour.

By exposing animals to such vicarious smoking in experiments it was shown that up to 20 per cent developed throat cancer. The incidence of lung tumours in predisposed families of mice was increased significantly, in some instances by up to 91 per cent.

More than a dozen studies have shown that children of smoking parents suffer more frequently from inflammation of the respiratory system. And in infants of up to one year, parental smoking is the most important cause of bronchitis and pneumonia.

Would the judges at the Federal Labour Relations Court have been able to arrive at a ruling had they had these figures? Hardly. There is no law to guide them; and there is no legislation that would protect the non-smoker from being forced into vicarious smoking at work.

FOOTNOTE: More than 50 US States have introduced legislation to protect non-smokers. *Gerd P. Ehestädt*

(Die Zeit, 9 November 1979)

■ EDUCATION

Universities open doors for spare-time degrees

Most Fridays for three years Josef Scherer drove to Augsburg University for evening lectures while his work colleagues headed for the nearest pub, or looked forward to a pleasant evening watching TV.

Scherer studied market research, rationalisation models, systematic product development, organisation structures, leadership theories, financial planning and problems of the humanisation of the working environment.

Every week-day evening and weekend he studied. The reward: the 32-year-old manager of an Augsburg printing firm now has a degree. He hopes that this diploma of university studies will increase his value on the job market and improve his chances of promotion.

Scherer and two other students are the first graduates of the national experiment in further education known as "contact study." They are in the vanguard of a new form of further education: adult education at universities.

In Augsburg the first semester of contact study began in autumn 1976 after half a year's preparatory phase: 150 mature students registered. Up to today about 400 managers have taken up either full or part-time studies at the relatively new University of Augsburg.

Many universities throughout the country have now opened their doors to full-time workers wanting to study for degrees in their free time.

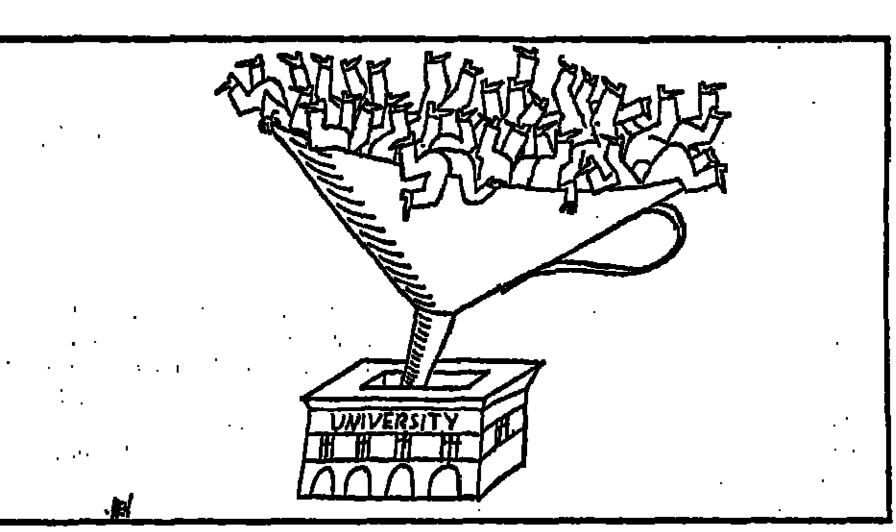
Universities offer a wide range of courses — complementary, preparatory and full-time courses. Among those taking part in contact study experiments are the universities of Berlin, Bochum, Hanover, and Osnabrück. Others have applied to the central government-Länder commission for permission to introduce courses.

In these efforts to bridge the gap between universities and the working world there are, however, wide differences in the courses offered and the student target hroups.

They cover the entire range from evening classes to full-time study. Most courses are specifically aimed at certain professional groups: teachers, travel agents, agricultural scientlists, industrial workers, engineers, craftsmen, works councillors, artists.

The programme at Augsburg University — aimed at managers in all professions — is exceptionally wide-ranging. The admission requirements stipulate at least three years' professional experience in managerial positions. The aim here is to ensure a certain amount of homogeneity among the students, who can then work out their own timetable.

Students receive a certificate for every 100 hours of study; those who have completed the obligatory 500 hours of study and passed a written and oral examination as well as writing a dissertation receive the contact study degree."



(Cartoon: Gabor Benedek / Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger)

Many of the contact study graduates are unhappy with the title of their degree and want to be awarded the same kind of degree as full-time students.

This dissatisfaction is because the contact study degree is not very well known.

Universities have so far failed to spread the word to companies. Most personnel officers still ask in surprise: "What is it?"

Most contact students rely on their studies paying off in professional terms. A poll at Augsburg revealed that professional advancement was the main motive for 60 per cent.

The aim is to polish up their knowledge of their subject, broaden their scientific basis and climb further up the career ladder. Personal motives such as intellectual fitness training, private interests or personal enrichment come second.

The main obstacle to recognition as "real graduates" is the reservations of educational politicians and planners who are reluctant to give part-time studies the same status as full-time university studies.

Opinions on the future status of contact studies differ considerably. While the Working Party on University Adult Education in Hanover is already discussing detailed proposals on this form of study, conservative circles are still defensive, asking if the further education of non-students or those without the Abitur ought to be a major aim of the universities at all.

It is precisely those without the Abitur – the exam which qualifies a school leaver for university entrance — who are most interested in this "back door degree."

An analysis of educational backgrounds of the students on the contact courses showed that 21 per cent already had degrees, 18 per cent had the Abitur, 16 per cent had the elementary school leaving certificate and 35 per cent had the equivalent of 0 levels.

Candidates without the Abitur have to take an orientation seminar which is in fact a test of whether they are fit to study.

Years of experience at Augsburg have shown that educational background does not generally have a negative effect. Professional experience makes up for certain gaps in academic knowledge.

The 60-year-old bank director for example or the 50-year-old company director who, because of the war or family problems never got degrees, have no difficulty keeping up with the other students. They are praised by their teachers as "open to new ideas and hard-working."

Women are under-represented. Of the 400 students on the contact course at Augsburg, only 30 are women. This is explained by the minimal number of women in top managerial positions and by the much-quoted "double burden."

One of the female students who dropped out of the course said in an answer to an internal poll: "When I have gone through the day's stress at work and then done all the things I have to do to make things comfortable at home, I just don't have any energy left for going to class."

Problems with partners are extremely important. Many free-time students come up against resistance in their families.

"Many wives or girl-friends wonder if it is worth their while giving up their private life for years for the sake of a degree," says Josef Scherer.

The Augsburg experiment, the most soundly based of those the experiments now being held, is subsidised to the tune of DM400,000 a year. The programme ends, officially, at the end of 1980.

Even if an application for an extension is granted, the question is whether Bavaria will continue with it or just drop it — the fate of other educational reforms.

The general uncertainty affects not only Bavaria. There seems to be no definite direction in Bonn either. The West German Conference of Vice-Chancellors gave its approval to various models some years ago but seems to have grown more and more sceptical.

University teachers complain loudly about threats to "academic standards" — and are worried internally about a posible increase in their work load.

There are complaints in Augsburg and elsewhere about the aloofness of university teachers towards this form of teaching.

According to Dr Eberhard Jobst of the National Commission of Educational Planning, there is a "clear preference among the professors for giving well paid in-training courses outside the universities." *Brigitte Zander*

(Die Zeit, 9 November 1979)

Classes 'biggest in the EEC'

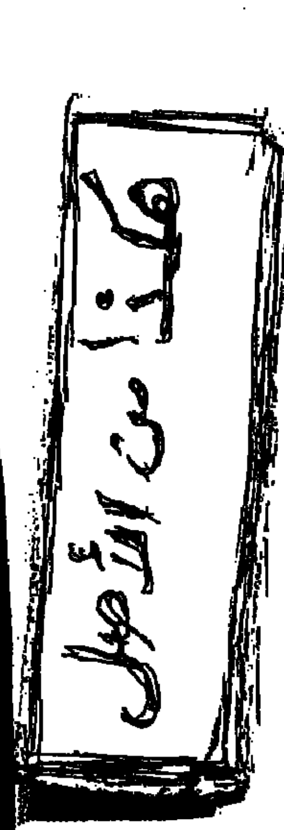
Figures published by the EEC Statistics Office show that classes in West Germany are the largest in all EEC countries for which figures are available.

The average size is 24.4 higher than Denmark, Italy, France and Great Britain.

No data were available for the Netherlands, Ireland and Luxembourg.

Of the other six EEC countries, Denmark and Italy were top of the league with 13.5 and 13.8 pupils per teacher respectively. *ddp*

(Die Welt, 31 October 1979)



SECURITY

Former intelligence chief heads training school

You can't teach an old dog new tricks, and so Brigadier (Retd.) Paul-Albert Scherer, former head of the German Military Intelligence Service has decided to stick to what he knows.

The brigadier now heads this country's first private school for industrial security, a subsidiary of the Düsseldorf Security and Guard Service (DSW).

The new school is housed in Alt Fresenburg Castle near Bad Oldesloe, in Schleswig-Holstein.

Chief executive of DSW, Reinhard Ottens, formerly employed by a department store, says the organisation now has an annual turnover of DM11m.

He is delighted about having, in Brigadier Scherer, such a prominent newcomer to the business, saying: "We got exactly what we needed – a man with practical experience."

Since starting the training facility last March, Brigadier Scherer has trained 52 experts in industrial security, primarily Bundeswehr and Border Police members who want to prepare themselves for a civilian career once their stint is over.

But there are also more and more businesses which send their security men to the Brigadier for further training.

The neoclassical estate, dating back to 1791, one served as a residence for the Barons von Jenisch.

Subjects in the security course include law and self-defence (jiu-jitsu).

Brigadier Scherer: "I don't consider it necessary to use any bugging methods in this business."

In fact, his determination to remain entirely above board goes so far that his clients have to get their shooting practice elsewhere.

Present tuition is DM7,100 a year, and this is not excessive, considering the starting salary of DM2,500 to DM2,000 a month for graduates.

Participants can graduate with several diplomas recognised by the State of Schleswig-Holstein, earning them such titles as master security officer, security technician and security engineer. The security engineer, however, has to be an engineering graduate.

"We are glad that there is so much interest in highly qualified young blood among the business community," says Brigadier Scherer.

Since the assassination of industrialist Hanns Martin Schleyer and banker Jürgen Ponto, the violent demonstrations by anti-nukes and the dramatic increase in crime as well as the kidnappings of a number of prominent millionaires, business with fear has been flourishing. In fact, nowhere else have there been such startling growth rates.

DSW provides round-the-clock bodyguards for many business executives in the Rhine and Ruhr areas.

This sector of DSW's business alone accounts for DM4m a year.

Though Herr Ottens concedes that a bodyguard provides no absolute protection, one nevertheless increases the risk to a potential attacker.

Both Herr Ottens and Brigadier Scherer reject the contention that the training of private security officers creates a general security risk. These people could not be viewed as a secret and private army, as some have claimed.

None of his men, says Herr Ottens, has as yet fired a shot in anger. And only a few of the private security officers are armed – but even these few amount to 5,000 for the entire country.

Herr Ottens points out that there are many more hunters in Germany and that they are equipped with better weapons.

The guarding of personal property is essentially up to its owner, says the chairman of the Security Business Association, Norbert Hammacher.

"The responsibility of the proprietor on the periphery of a concrete danger is therefore not only welcomed by the states but is in fact an obligation for various reasons of social responsibility by the entrepreneur vis-a-vis the community as a whole," says Herr Hammacher.

The staff of private security organisations and industrial security departments do not engage in tasks reserved for the state. But in the pursuit of their work, as for instance in protecting individuals, they depend on rights to which every citizen is entitled.

There is still a great deal to learn for this country's 100,000 security guards, says Brigadier Scherer, adding that most of the men working in this field are inadequately trained.

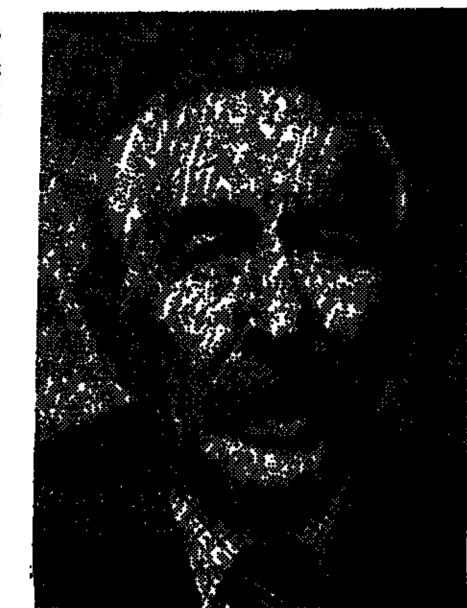
He also deplores the fact that many business executives are not fully conscious of the problem. They don't attached enough importance to security, he says.

There are companies with excellent security arrangements, but others' are not.

Some businesses leave sensitive information lying around. They think that security measures are too costly.

Though he does not want to create hysteria, he is certain that the jeopardy to the security of German business will increase in the 80s.

Due to the leading role of German



Paul-Albert Scherer
(Photo: Sven Simon)

companies in international competition, competitors in East and West will try to get hold of our industrial secrets and, perhaps, blackmail our top business executives.

The East Bloc, he says, has zeroed-in on German industry.

German businessmen would be surprised if they knew what the GDR defector and former secret service member Stiller has revealed about Eastern industrial espionage.

Judge Clemens Amelunxen of Düsseldorf estimates that there are some 20,000 government and private spies operating in this country.

The Brigadier cannot understand why government security forces have not issued adequate warnings and information about industrial espionage, considering the losses caused by it, which go into the billions of deutschmarks.

In view of the risks to the German economy, the Brigadier is not worried about the future of his school. He already has 73 applications for the course beginning in January. The school's capacity is 100.

Brigadier Scherer: "I'm sure that I won't turn a mark into 80 pfennigs but into DM1.10."

Rainer Sachadae

(Deutsche Zeitung, 9 November 1979)

Karajan in China

Continued from page 11

find altogether breathtaking is the sense of emptiness, emptiness filled with power.

No-one who builds around so much space can have any sense of frontiers, neither inside nor outside himself.

Enclosed space in the Forbidden City is the embodiment of the abstract concept of emptiness in a position of power.

For the second concert the red carpet that absorbed so much of the sound at the first has been rolled up and moved to one side.

The Berliners are in there fighting, playing for all they are worth. "Playing with the Berliner Philharmoniker is like having taken drugs," says the young stand-in oboeist.

Karajan's hands control the orchestra as though they held invisible reins or emitted waves of concentration and sugeestion. A great breath of air fills the inner and outer space, the same space as in the Forbidden City.

The programme for the final concert is Beethoven's Fourth and his Seventh. Chinese TV is broadcasting it live. 40 Chinese musicians take the place of the 40 Philharmonia musicians.

During the cultural revolution and under the Gang of Four, Beethoven was banned in China – as the quintessence of bourgeois revisionism.

The concert becomes a profession. Beethoven glows in the fire of political inspiration.

Like a flash an official with a bouquet of flowers is in the arena, the deputy minister and his entourage. Karajan blows kisses, spreads out his arms. "Let me embrace you millions..." A million TV sets, five to 10 million Chinese have received the message.

On the return flight I asked Karajan whether all the effort had been worthwhile. "Yes, very much so. It was the first time the people had ever heard a concert properly... our contacts with the Chinese were excellent... we asked them to send cassettes of their four most talented musicians for our school."

"We'll select the best two. And I invited them to send a youth orchestra to our competition. The music group was remarkably fine, they really ought to play in Germany..."

"Are you planning an opera performance in the Imperial Palace? Perhaps Turandot?"

"We'll have to see. Let things blossom first."

Charlotte Kerr

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 8 November 1979)

Detective work without the glamour

Süddeutsche Zeitung

Intelligence, ballpoint pen and patience," are today the weapons of the private eye, says the secretary-general of the Federation of German Private Detectives (BDD), Manfred Binder.

In any event, he says, this country's more than 500 detective agencies have nothing to do with the detectives of film and TV.

There are no hot chases or tough fist fights, nor are potential victims saved in the nick of time.

Before the amendment of the divorce law, much of the work had to do with catching adulterous husbands and wives in flagranti.

Today, 97 years after the first German detective agency started business in Berlin, industrial crime and espionage account for most of the business.

Considering that some DM13bn in damage is caused by theft, industrial sabotage, fraud and embezzlement every year, it is understandable that the emphasis in the private eye business has shifted.

Much of their business is done with small and medium-sized companies that have no security force of their own.

Major companies with their own "house police" rarely have to resort to private detectives. They trust in their own men, considering the employment of a private agency as too costly.

The fee charged by a private agency is a minimum of DM40 per hour, plus expenses and mileage at the rate of 75 pfennigs per kilometre.

The legal situation being what it is, no detective can work by the principle of providing the quickest success at the lowest possible cost.

The reason is simple: private eyes have no official authority. They can neither search nor plant bugs nor do they have access to police dossiers. Though police and private eyes pull in the same direction, their co-operation has been more tenuous than cordial.

"You must explain these things to the client because otherwise he is likely to call every 15 minutes and ask if there are any results yet," says a Munich detective.

His explanation is simple: many people believe that things in real life are pretty much the same as they see on television.

And since everything does look so simple, the private eye business is increasingly becoming a fashionable career. Moreoever, everybody can become a private detective since the law requires no special qualifications.

The BDD hopes that a new school to train newcomers to the profession and provide pros with additional qualifications, recently established in Münster, will be instrumental in making this line of business viable only for qualified detectives and help to weed out the would-be Mickey Spillanes.

dpa

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 6 November 1979)

SPORT

Ivan Buljan, Hamburg SV's reluctant hero

Yugoslav soccer star Ivan Buljan, 29, is the only one of nine players under contract to reigning league champions SV Hamburg whose contracts expire at the end of this season who frankly admits that he wants to stay with the club.

The others are still hedging, bargaining, allegedly unsure. Kevin Keegan, for instance, plans to talk with six other clubs before deciding.

Manfred Kaltz says he will probably be coming to terms with an Italian club. Backgammon player Buljan is not interested in contract poker. "I should like to stay in Hamburg," he says.

Buljan goes on to make an admission that is probably unique at this stage of the proceedings in hard-nosed professional soccer talk:

"I am worried the club may not offer me terms. Maybe the management would like to sign another foreigner. Then I would surely have to go."

Yet Buljan is the player who is currently most valuable to the club, or arguably so alongside Kaltz and Keegan. He scored two goals in the 10 November 4-0 win over Borussia Dortmund that took Hamburg to the top of the league table.

As a midfield player with a defensive role he is Hamburg's leading goal-scorer this season (with six), and he is certainly the kind of player every coach dreams of.

He has the power of a Briegel, the technique of an Overath, the endurance of a Wimmer and an overall view of the game that is almost as comprehensive as that of team manager Günter Netzer.

"He is a player you can play in any position," says Branko Zebec, SV Hamburg's coach. Buljan has played in virtually every position on the field.

In Split, Yugoslavia, he played centre forward. In last year's championship season with Hamburg he was rated the best fullback in the Bundesliga. This season he is starring as a midfield scoring ace.

"Scoring is much easier for me than for Horst Hrubesch or Kevin Keegan," he says, almost apologetically. "Keegan is closely marked, whereas when I go up front I am usually in the clear."



He apologises for everything: for his goals, his fouls, his team-mates, his sterling performance even.

At the beginning of the season, when the team were critical of Kevin Keegan, he reminded them that Keegan deserved much of the credit for Hamburg's league championship win in 1978/79.

As for his current showing, "I shall just have to be so good in every game from now on that the club has to offer me terms." This was his comment after the two goals against Dortmund.

Ivan Buljan, SV Hamburg's midfield star, is an anti-star. There is nothing he dislikes more than newspaper headlines. "I don't dare even think what I would do if I were Keegan," he says.

Keegan, the ex-Liverpool and England ace, is something of a cult hero in Hamburg.

Buljan prefers by far to stand to one side of the limelight and look on from home with his family as others bask in the reflected glory.

ZDF, the Second Channel of West German TV, had planned to star the best player of the Hamburg-Dortmund match in its Saturday sports programme Aktuelles Sportstudio.

A private aircraft was at the ready on the runway of Fuhlsbüttel airport, Hamburg, and a ZDF outside broadcast reporter was waiting at the changing room to whisk off the man of the match to Mainz.

Outside the Hamburg team's changing room he explained that he was waiting to take Buljan to the studio. Buljan emerged, to be asked: "Herr Buljan, please come with us for Aktuelles Sportstudio. We should like to star you as Player of the Day."

"Sorry," Buljan said. "My wife is at home waiting." "She can fly with us," the reporter said. "Sorry, I have children too," he replied.

To be on the safe side he added that they had invited people round that evening. He just couldn't possibly come. And that was that.

That is Buljan off the field; on field *opponents have dubbed him Ivan the* Terrible. But if you think he must be a simpleton you must be mistaken.

Ivan Buljan knows what he is doing and how he envisages his future. He has invested his cash in a house in Hamburg he plans to sell when he leaves the club, and at some stage he plans to leave Hamburg and end his career in America.

One reason why it has to be America is that he intends to learn English as well as French and German (and his native Serbo-Croat).

"When I finally return home I shall have a little money, be able to speak *English, French and German and should* be in a position to earn a good living in Yugoslavia," he says.

He is certainly no simpleton. Buljan is a soccer pro with a heart, a man who is happy to do what he enjoys doing and is well aware that football is not everything in life.

Horst Walter

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 15 November 1979)

Ivan Buljan
(Photo: Wilfried Witters)

State 'crisis'

Continued from page 3

State's reputation would seem to be a growing dissatisfaction with the State on the part of opinion-formers and the so-called intellectual elite.

Listen to what protest singers and leading writers and artists say, what radio and TV presenters, teachers and many young politicians say, and you will find they scarcely have a good word for the State.

Little can be done to counter the trend at present, especially with a general election campaign in the offing that is sure to intensify and accelerate this process of dissolution.

But responsible politicians must fight hard to defend what sronghold the State retains and thereby to maintain its freedom of action.

They must think beyond Election Day and be prepared to aid a revival of State consciousness in the 80s.

Conrad Ahlers

(Wirtschaftswoche, 12 November 1979)

Football star keeps driving in top gear – at 37

Soccer stars usually have ex-directory telephone numbers – a status symbol if ever there was one. But not Siegfried ("Siggi") Held, 37, of Bayer Uerdingen, the oldest player in the Bundesliga.

"Why should I have an ex-directory number?" he asks. "I've never had one."

Held drives an old car and wears last season's clothes if they still have service to give. On his free day he goes shopping with the wife and children. He dreams of living in the country in a converted farmhouse.

But he doesn't live in one. He still has dreams and readily admits to them. So the evidence points to Siggi Held being a perfectly ordinary person with both feet on the ground.

By conventional social standards he is nonetheless something special, a member of a small and exclusive elite, a star who could easily market himself as such.

But he has no such ambitions. "Why should I?" he asks. He resists pressure to conform with the conventional image of a soccer star, and he has done so successfully for the past 16 years.

In 1945 he and his family came as refugees from the Sudeten German region of Czechoslovakia. He made a name for himself as a village soccer star in Marktheidenfeld.

Then, in 1963, he signed professional forms for Kickers Offenbach, later transferring to Borussia Dortmund, the club where he really made a name for himself.

He played for the West German team that lost in the controversial final to England at Wembley in the 1966 World Cup. With Borussia he won the European Cup-Winners' Cup the same year, beating Liverpool 2-1.



Siegfried Held

In Mexico in 1970 he was a member of the World Cup team that came third, beating Uruguay 1-0. He was capped 41 times.

By the rules of the game he ought to have rated the 1966 World Cup final the tragic climax of his career, followed by the European Cup win as a wonderful and richly deserved reward.

But Held does not think in terms of these teased-out stereotypes. "When I was with Offenbach and we gained promotion to the Bundesliga that was just as important for me," he says.

And he stolidly refuses to market himself as he so easily could as the oldest player still under contract in Bundesliga soccer – and still one of the best.

He refuses to allow himself to be written off. "I'm not the only oldtimer," he says. "There's Kroke, our reserve goalie at Uerdingen; he's older than I am. And Grabowski in Frankfurt and Fichtel, who plays for Schalke in Gelsenkirchen, are both only a couple of years younger."

He is not interested in being hailed as a Methusalem of the professional code. He takes a neutral, middle-of-the-road view of his 16 seasons in the league:

"There are no old or young players, only good or bad ones." Kicking against the traces, he refuses to go along with the conventional view that to be young is somehow meritorious.

Held reckons older players are handicapped in professional soccer much as older workers are handicapped in their jobs. They are handicapped like racehorses.

"Form crises are just form crises where young players are concerned, but when an older player goes through a lean spell it is his age starting to tell."

Dortmund have him a free transfer to Münster because Udo Lattek, Borussia's new coach, was not interested in "the old man." Held felt this was a surprising and unreasonable decision.

Uerdingen bought him from Münster for DM250,000, taking him back into the Bundesliga. Much more sensible, Held reckoned.

He is unruffled by newspaper headlines describing him as a "soccer grandpa" but is determined to hang up his boots as soon as he has to lower his sights in contract negotiations.

He then plans to try his hand as a trainer. He has had offers, but refused them all so far. Siggi Held, 37, reckons he is still a little on the young side to be thinking in terms of taking his seat on the trainer's bench.

Ulfert Schröder

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 15 November 1979)